

MID-AMERICA

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Anti-Monopoly League of 1866

V.

La Crosse Packet Company *Et Al*.

The transportation companies in the upper Mississippi Valley during the Civil War operated in a rapidly changing economic climate. Inflation, rising costs, and increasing production, especially of wheat, influenced the freight rates charged by the steamboat and railroad lines. Before the war, at least, it was natural for these companies to charge high rates on the small and variable tonnage of freight. Just when the volume increased through growth of population and expanded production of wheat, the war came along, and with it inflation. At the same time, during three of the war years, the water was so low in the rivers for long periods that not even logs could be sent downstream with regularity, much less steamboats. Such difficulties, accompanied by small shipments and high risks, tended to keep rates up and profits down. After the war, the main difficulty was that the transportation companies refused to lower rates until forced to do so, since the officers had in mind all the tribulations of the war years. Then public opinion, organized by the "anti-monopolists," forced the issue. This anti-monopoly movement formed part of an agitation which extended not only over Minnesota and Wisconsin, but also over Illinois and Iowa; in fact, over all the region which ten years later was the seat of the Granger uprising.¹

¹ The most detailed earlier accounts of the anti-monopoly movement in Minnesota and western Wisconsin during the 1860's were by Frederick Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade*, Madison, 1916, 308, and Lester B. Shippee in "Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi after the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, VI (March, 1920), 470-502. Since then the Minnesota Historical Society has acquired the William F. Davidson Papers, which include the business records of the La Crosse and Minnesota Steam Packet Company.

Three major steamboat companies operated on the upper Mississippi to St. Paul during the latter part of the Civil War, two of them in connection with railroads running between the river and Lake Michigan. The La Crosse and Minnesota Steam Packet Company, which purchased its first steamers in 1861,² worked closely with the La Crosse and Milwaukee Rail Road at La Crosse, Wisconsin. The North Western Packet Company, organized in 1863 as the successor to the old Galena, Dubuque, Dunleith and Minnesota Packet Company, had arrangements with the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railway at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and with the Illinois Central Railroad at Dunleith, now East Dubuque, Illinois. Finally, the Northern Line, formed in 1857 to operate between St. Louis and St. Paul, had encountered a series of difficulties during the war years from which it did not begin to recover until after the war.³

The increase in freight rates from the upper Mississippi Valley to Lake Michigan during the war somewhat exceeded the rise of wheat prices in the region and the general increase in wholesale prices in the nation. For instance, the freight charges on a bushel of wheat shipped from Minnesota's major wheat port, Winona, to Milwaukee climbed from about 13.5 cents in May, 1861, to 35 cents in May, 1865, an increase of around 159 per cent. The average price of number one wheat at Winona during approximately the same period rose from 60 cents per bushel in May-July, 1861, to \$1.376 during September-November, 1864, an advance of 129 per cent.⁴ Nationally, wholesale prices in general from 1861 to 1865 climbed just a little over 100 per cent.⁵

Public protest against the increasingly high freight rates began even before the end of the war. The transportation lines had raised the charge for shipping a bushel of wheat, for example, from St. Paul or Winona to Milwaukee or Chicago to 25 cents during 1863, almost double the rate of just two seasons before.⁶ Shippers and other businessmen of Hastings, Minnesota, then a port of some prominence on the upper Mississippi, met early in the following year to consider the rate problem. They agreed

² Minute Book, 18, Davidson Papers.

³ Merk, *Economic History of Wisconsin*, 353; *St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat*, May 2, June 1, 1861, May 3, 1862; *St. Paul Pioneer*, November 25, 1863, March 1, 1864, November 30, 1865.

⁴ Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota*, New York, 1926, 29, 52.

⁵ Harold F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy*, 2d ed., New York, 1951, 326.

⁶ Larson, *Wheat Market*, 52.

that "Certain transportation companies have entered into a combination, and have established an exorbitant rate of freight from all points on the Mississippi above La Crosse, to Milwaukee and Chicago." The Hastings shippers recommended the combined action of the businessmen of all towns affected, to make some arrangement by which freight charges would be reduced to "reasonable" rates. As the first step, the Hastings merchants invited the businessmen of every town above Dubuque, Iowa, to send delegates to a convention at Red Wing, Minnesota, a short distance down the river from Hastings.⁷

The Red Wing convention met in March, 1864, and elected a committee to go to Chicago and Milwaukee to seek relief from the high freight rates. The Chicago Board of Trade agreed that rates were too high, while the *Chicago Tribune* proclaimed in no uncertain terms that the freight charge on wheat constituted "unmitigated extortion."⁸ Nevertheless, the railroad and steamboat lines not only failed to lower the rates, but soon raised them considerably. The transportation companies increased the charge on a bushel of wheat shipped from Winona to Milwaukee or Chicago to 28 cents, 3 cents above the previous rate, and jumped the charge from St. Paul to 36 cents, an advance of 11 cents per bushel. The railroad and steamboat organizations justified these increases partly as being the result of the increased difficulties of navigation on the Mississippi that season caused by the very low stage of water.

Protests against the high rates broke out again in the spring of 1865. The railroad and steamboat companies had announced in March a rate of 35 cents per bushel of wheat from St. Paul to Lake Michigan, only a penny less than in the previous low-water season. The *St. Paul Press* then predicted that the "transportation monopolies," in order to obtain freight at all, would be obliged to reduce their rates so as to encourage, or at least not to discourage, production. As predicted, the companies soon lowered the rate on wheat to 28 cents;⁹ but complaints continued, since wheat prices also were falling. From the wartime high average of \$1.38 per bushel in September-November, 1864, the average price of number one wheat at Winona dropped to \$1.06 during January-March, 1865, and to \$0.87 in May-July. After recovering

⁷ *St. Paul Press*, February 20, 1864.

⁸ Larson, *Wheat Market*, 46, 47.

⁹ *St. Paul Press*, June 29, 1864, March 29, May 16, 1865.

to \$1.13 in September-November, the average price fell again to \$0.95 during January-March, 1866.¹⁰

In December, 1865, the *St. Paul Press*, already interested in the anti-monopoly movement, began an all-out crusade. When President Andrew Johnson remarked that "Monopolies, perpetuities and class legislation are contrary to the genius of free government, and ought not to be allowed," the *Press* foresaw an "Impending Conflict of Monopolies and the People." This newspaper calculated that it cost farmers living along the Mississippi nearly a third of their crop to get it to the Milwaukee market. The journal accused William F. Davidson of using his position as president of the La Crosse Packet Company to further his own ends as a wheat buyer, at the expense of the other buyers and of the farmers. Furthermore, the paper stated flatly that the "combination" excluded any competition by compelling shippers using independent steamboats to pay six cents per bushel more freight charges on the railroads than if the shippers had used the "Davidson" or "Wellington" (North Western Packet Company) lines, which was "infamous discrimination."¹¹

Led by the *Press*, the anti-monopoly movement gained increasing momentum as 1865 drew to a close. A Minnesota farmer wrote a "caustic exposition" to a Hastings newspaper, attaching the combination of "Commodore Davidson and Lord Wellington's Company" with the La Crosse and Milwaukee, the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien, the Chicago and Northwestern and the Illinois Central railroads.¹² Another correspondent urged the calling of a new convention of merchants and shippers to organize for opposing the "combination monopoly" by diverting as much trade as possible to St. Louis. The *Press* took up the call for a convention, but added that the preliminary step should be taken by the farmers, the chief sufferers from this "iniquitous monopoly."¹³ At the beginning of the new year, the *Press* also attacked "Commodore Davidson's paper," the *St. Paul Pioneer*, for attempting "a feebly-desperate diversion in favor of the Steamboat Monopoly by chaotically tumbling the banks, dry goods' merchants, the lumber manufacturers, the grain dealers" and even the *Press* itself into "the same offensive category."

¹⁰ Larson, *Wheat Market*, 29.

¹¹ December 12, 1865.

¹² Quoted in the *St. Paul Press*, December 14, 1865.

¹³ December 21, 1865.

The demand for a new anti-monopoly convention developed rapidly early in 1866. The *Press* claimed that in the previous year alone the people of Minnesota had been "forced against their will to pay the prodigious sum of about \$2,500,000 in freights. . . ."¹⁴ This journal reprinted a letter from a Hastings newspaper calling for a state convention of farmers and merchants to consider how to get rid of the "Freight Monopoly," which was proposing an extension all over the state of the "crushing monopoly of the wheat trade which Commodore Davidson has organized throughout the Minnesota Valley."¹⁵

A call for a state convention was soon being circulated and "very generally signed" by members of the Minnesota legislature and by businessmen of St. Paul.¹⁶ The *Press* published an invitation, signed by a hundred and twenty-seven "Merchants, Shippers and other Business Men of St. Paul," members of the legislature, and others, to a meeting to "adopt measures to combine the influence of the Northwest against all counter combinations, designed to extort from us unreasonable and oppressive freights."¹⁷

Anti-monopoly leaders soon met in St. Paul to consider the best plan of securing lower rates of transportation. The meeting adopted resolutions calling for a major anti-monopoly convention a month later at St. Paul. Next the St. Paul Board of Trade announced that it "cordially" sympathized with the farming interests in their efforts to break up the "monopoly combinations." Preparations for the anti-monopoly convention soon were under way. The St. Paul Board of Trade elected delegates, while a citizens' meeting in the same city chose representatives of the "mechanics and working men." Other towns all over Minnesota and parts of western Wisconsin selected delegates for the anti-monopoly convention, which met in St. Paul in February, 1866.¹⁸

One possible solution to the rate problem was for shippers to patronize steamers which operated independently from the dominant packet companies. A new Savanna (Illinois) and St. Paul Steamboat Line had advertised in 1865 that it would carry freight from Chicago, Milwaukee, or Racine via the Chicago and Milwaukee and the Chicago and North Western Railways to all points on the upper Mississippi at "the Lowest Tariff Rates."¹⁹ Shippers

¹⁴ January 2, 1866.

¹⁵ January 3, 1866.

¹⁶ *St. Paul Press*, January 5, 1866.

¹⁷ January 6, 1866.

¹⁸ *St. Paul Pioneer*, January 10, 13, February 4, 8, 1866.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1865.

on the upper river soon purchased a "magnificent" gold watch to present to the "pioneer captain" of this line. The St. Paul businessman-politician presenting the watch maintained that for more than two years the people of Minnesota had been at the mercy of "a powerful monopoly embracing in its interests nearly all of the steamboats upon the upper Mississippi, and Minnesota rivers, and the lines of railroads running from the great river to the great lakes. . . ." The introduction of the Savanna Line, he claimed, had "already done much to break up the tyranny of this monopoly and relieve our people of its exactions."²⁰

Early in 1866 rivermen proposed additional independent lines. The chairman of the preliminary anti-monopoly meeting in St. Paul read a letter from a Chicago representative of the European Express Freight Line and the National Steam Navigation Company who offered to furnish as many as six steamboats to run between St. Paul and St. Louis or any other point, if the merchants and citizens of St. Paul would pledge \$20,000 or \$25,000 in support of a new company. The meeting then invited the proposed anti-monopoly convention to consider establishing a single steamboat line from St. Paul to New Orleans. Just before the convention met, the press reported that arrangements had been completed for a new line of packets between La Crosse and St. Paul, which would make a total of four daily lines in that trade.²¹

Representatives of various existing or projected steamboat companies appeared at St. Paul when the day of the convention dawned to propose the establishment of still other new lines. A "well-known steamboatman of the lower Mississippi" offered to organize a daily line from St. Louis to St. Paul, to be called the Merchants' Line. The "pioneer captain" of the Savanna Line presented a plan to establish a new line from St. Paul to Savanna to connect with the Western Union and the Racine and Mississippi Railroads, which were prepared to act independently from all other roads and to operate with any line of boats established by the convention. An experienced upper Mississippi riverman, Captain John B. Davis, representing Archer and Hart of Memphis and Louisville, arrived to propose another new line to the convention.²² Davis and Captain James R. Hatcher, a former director of the La Crosse Packet Company and until recently one of William F. Davidson's right-hand men,²³ told a convention committee that the Hart Line

²⁰ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1865.

²¹ *Ibid.*, January 10, February 7, 1866.

²² *Ibid.*, February 8, 1866.

²³ Minute Book, 12, Davidson Papers: *St. Paul Pioneer*, June 30, 1865.

proposed a new company with a capital stock of \$300,000, half or a majority to be taken by the merchants, shippers and farmers.

The convention developed its own plan for forming a new steamboat company, however. A committee on this subject recommended the organization of a corporation with a capital stock of \$500,000, to be taken in shares of \$25 each with no person or company owning more than two-fifths of the paid-up stock. The convention approved the recommendations and authorized the appointment of a committee of one in each of thirty-eight towns to collect subscriptions. Next the convention chairman appointed a committee to prepare articles of incorporation. When Captain Davis asked if the Hart Line could take half the stock, a convention official replied that "when the money is raised, we can see," adding that the new company's officers would need between \$100,000 and \$200,000 reserve capital "to fight their way through."²⁴

The new steamboat line seemed to be well launched. The committees appointed by the convention began at once to take necessary steps to form a new company, and the articles of incorporation of the Minnesota Transportation Company, as the anti-monopolists named the line, soon were drafted and signed by the incorporators. The St. Paul Board of Trade subscribed \$50,000, while the Hart Line promised to put up \$200,000 toward the \$500,000 to be raised. In March the newspapers reported that Captains Hatcher and Davis of the Hart Line were on their way to St. Paul again, since the stockholders and incorporators planned to meet soon to organize. At this meeting the stockholders elected temporary officers.

The Minnesota Transportation Company never left the levee, however. The incorporators decided that the sentiment of the people seemed to be that it was unnecessary to purchase any boats at that time, perhaps because rates already had been reduced, but that the company should continue the subscription of stock until all of it was taken, thus continuing to be useful as a club over the heads of the railroads and steamboat companies. In the meantime the new company should just make contracts for shipping freight by any line of boats and railways which would give the organization the best rates. The incorporators therefore empowered the officers to communicate with railroad and packet companies to make contracts upon the most advantageous terms. If the officers failed to get low rates from any existing lines, the incorporators

²⁴ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1866.

then favored purchasing boats of their own.²⁵ The president soon visited Chicago and other cities to contract for shipping all Minnesota freight with the "mark" of the Minnesota Transportation Company through to the seaboard.²⁶ But the existing transportation lines apparently would not agree to this arrangement, for the new company then faded into oblivion.

Other competitors of the La Crosse and the North Western Packet Companies had more success. The Northern Line announced even before the convention met that the company would provide daily service between St. Paul and St. Louis in 1866, doubling the tri-weekly schedule of the previous season. Also, Captain Hatcher organized the Hatcher Steamboat Line in the spring to operate three boats between St. Paul and St. Louis, and soon purchased a tow boat to add to his little fleet. Finally, the Savanna Line scheduled three boats to operate on the upper Mississippi and St. Croix Rivers, plus another on the Minnesota.²⁷

In November, 1865, when the anti-monopoly movement was just gaining momentum, the "monopoly" transportation companies had acquired a public defender of their own. A relative of President Davidson of the La Crosse Packet Company purchased a large interest in the *St. Paul Pioneer*, and, to the surprise of no one, this newspaper soon began to present the "monopoly" packet companies' side of the argument. The journal reported in detail their claim that they had not raised their prices anything like the increase in their expenses, including wages, provisions, material, fuel, taxes, license fees, and other expenditures. Taxes on steamboats had greatly increased since the war, the *Pioneer* reported. One of the main items was the city, or warfage, tax, which at St. Paul amounted to 7 cents per rated ton on every trip, regardless of the load. Others included annual inspection fees of \$25 for hulls and \$10 for boilers; hospital dues of 20 cents per month for each man employed on a boat; an annual federal tonnage tax of 30 cents per ton on each boat and barge; passenger boat licenses of \$25 dollars each; and bar licenses of the same amount. These, added to the usual operating expenses of a first class packet, amounted to about \$550 to \$600 per day, while at every port agents and receiving clerks also had to be paid.²⁸

The transportation companies also took steps to weaken the

²⁵ *Ibid.*, February 25, March 10, 23, 1865.

²⁶ *St. Paul Press*, April 13, 1866.

²⁷ *St. Paul Pioneer*, January 21, April 24, May 11, 15, 25, 1866.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, November 8, 30, 1865.

anti-monopoly spirit by granting some of the demands before the convention met. First, the La Crosse and Milwaukee Rail Road reduced freight rates, and the steamboats decided to do the same. Far from placated, the *St. Paul Press* denounced the reductions for which it had clamoured as "The New Conspiracy of the Monopolists."²⁹ The companies soon lowered the charge on wheat to Milwaukee or Chicago to 19 cents per bushel from St. Paul and to 18 cents from Winona.³⁰

Next the railroad and steamboat lines moved to eliminate the basis for the charge of discrimination. The *Press*, however, headlined that the "Freight Monopoly" was "Playing Possum," since the La Crosse and the North Western Packet Companies were about to announce "the dissolution of their combination with the Wisconsin Railroads, in the faint hope that . . . they can prevent the consumation of the anti-monopoly league."³¹ Davidson's "individual enterprise" for 1864 and 1865, the newspaper claimed, consisted of a "combination" whereby the railroads agreed to discriminate against any independent steamboat lines, in return for a large amount of stock in the two packet companies.³² The general manager of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway, as the La Crosse and Milwaukee now was named, announced just before the convention opened that his company had adopted as its future policy the principle of an "open river," so far as its freight business was concerned. Thereafter the railway would receive from and deliver to all steamboats doing business on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries on equal terms, receiving "each and all alike" in the order in which they arrived.³³

Not to be outdone, Davidson himself reported that he had a proposition to make to the convention. When he was "loudly called for," he took the floor to announce that the La Crosse Packet Company had twenty steamboats and forty barges that it was willing to dispose of on reasonable terms, if the people were determined to have a line of their own, which he thought was "a good idea." The company had authorized him to say that if the merchants of St. Paul wished to run the line, they could lease all the company's boats and barges for \$156,000 per season, which would be about \$32.50 per day for each boat and no charge for

²⁹ *St. Paul Press*, January 14, 1866.

³⁰ Larson, *Wheat Market*, 52; *St. Paul Press*, October 21, 1866.

³¹ January 27, 1866.

³² January 30, 1866.

³³ *St. Paul Pioneer*, February 7, 1866.

the barges. Or he was ready to sell La Crosse Packet Company stock as low as anyone would and to let disinterested parties appraise it. If the people wanted him to do the freight business himself, however, he would contract to carry all the wheat or other freight offered as cheaply as anyone. The convention declined to accept any of Davidson's proposals.³⁴

The anti-monopoly league not only failed to lease Davidson's boats or to organize its own steamboat company, but soon saw the formation of an even greater "monopoly" than before. The La Crosse and the North Western Lines merged in April, 1866, to form the North Western Union Packet Company. Its incorporators included the presidents of the La Crosse and the North Western Packet Companies, plus the general superintendent and the assistant general superintendent of the Chicago and North Western Railroad. These four officials and the secretary-treasurer of the La Crosse Line constituted the first board of directors. The state of Iowa authorized the new corporation to raise a capital stock of \$1,000,000, which might be increased up to \$5,000,000.³⁵ The Savanna Line also was asked to join the merger, according to the press, but refused.³⁶ Then the new directors named six officers, including three officials from the La Crosse Line and three from the North Western Line, with William F. Davidson as president.³⁷

At the same time as the packet companies merged, the Milwaukee and St. Paul and the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien Railways completed an arrangement to consolidate, or prorate, their earnings.³⁸ Soon the Prairie du Chien merged with the Milwaukee and St. Paul, now the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad.³⁹ The *St. Paul Press* naturally denounced the new steamboat and railway arrangements as "The Mammoth Monopoly," proclaiming that "The Upper Mississippi and all the routes of transit to Lake Michigan have thus passed completely under the control of a Transportation Monopoly far more gigantic in its proportions and immensely more powerful than that which last

³⁴ *Ibid.*, February 8, 1866.

³⁵ Articles of Incorporation, 3-5; John Lawler to William F. Davidson, April 20, 1866, Davidson Papers; *Biographical Encyclopedia of Illinois*, Philadelphia, 1875, 401; Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, eds., *Illinois Historical*, Chicago, 1909, 184.

³⁶ *St. Paul Press*, May 11, 1866.

³⁷ William E. Wellington to William F. Davidson, September 14, 1866, Davidson Papers.

³⁸ *St. Paul Press*, May 4, 1866.

³⁹ August Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road*, New York, 1948, 90.

year and the year previous, ruled the waters and railroads. . . ."⁴⁰ The new North Western Union Packet Company, the *Railroad Gazette* added, was "one of the most powerful and wealthy corporations ever organized for the Mississippi Valley trade."⁴¹

After apparently accomplishing some of its objectives and failing to achieve others, the anti-monopoly movement in Minnesota and western Wisconsin quickly faded away. The leaders may have felt as did the editor of the *Stillwater Messenger* (Minnesota), who exclaimed despairingly that "We shall never oppose another monopoly—unless paid for it! It is no use to butt against Capt. Davidson."⁴² More important, probably, was the fact that wheat prices began to rise. The average price at Winona climbed to \$1.60 per bushel in May-July of 1866; to \$1.79 during January-March, 1867; and to \$1.99 in May-July.⁴³ With wheat prices even higher than during the war, and freight rates lower during much of 1866, farmers and shippers were too busy making money to get excited about "monopolies."

In many ways the anti-monopoly league was a failure. The transportation companies did reduce the rate on wheat, but by the fall of 1866 had returned the charge from Minnesota to Lake Michigan to 36 cents a bushel.⁴⁴ An open river policy was announced, only to be followed by mergers forming even larger transportation systems. Rivermen, perhaps encouraged by the rumors of high profits, established two new, independent steamboat lines; but the North Western Union Packet Company dominated the upper Mississippi in 1866 and for several years thereafter. In the St. Paul trade, for example, the Union Line owned twenty-nine of the total of sixty-three boats in 1866 and made about 79 per cent of the total of 1015 trips to that city.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, the anti-monopoly movement, led by businessmen but supported by farmers, established a precedent for the larger scale and more effective attack on the transportation "monopolies" by the Grangers just a few years later.

Clearly, some of the anti-monopoly charges were considerably exaggerated, if not completely false. For instance, it was not true that any railroad owned a large amount of stock in the La Crosse

⁴⁰ May 4, 1866.

⁴¹ Quoted in the *St. Paul Pioneer*, May 19, 1866.

⁴² June 20, 1866.

⁴³ Larson, *Wheat Market*, 29.

⁴⁴ *St. Paul Press*, October 21, 1866.

⁴⁵ *St. Paul Pioneer*, December 13, 1866.

Packet Company. The original stockholders in 1861 consisted of the Galena Packet Company, William F. Davidson and his younger brother, and two La Crosse merchants. The only one of these who could reasonably be considered a railroad representative was the merchant who acted as the local commission agent for the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad, and he was one of the smallest stockholders.⁴⁶ At the beginning of 1866, just before the anti-monopoly convention, the La Crosse Line's stock was owned by the Davidsons and one of their associates, by two former Galena Line officials, and by three officers of the North Western Packet Company. All of them were steamboatmen or merchants, although again some of the latter, all minority owners, acted as local commission agents for railroads.⁴⁷ The only stockholder in the La Crosse Line up to 1866 who was actually an official of one of the Wisconsin or Illinois railroads at the time was the general superintendent of the La Crosse road, who received one \$2,000 share in 1863 in payment for two barges, but soon transferred it to one of the La Crosse merchants.⁴⁸

Equally false were the anti-monopolists' charges that the packet companies made gigantic profits. Before the convention met, the *Press* had published a long list of "Facts for Public Consideration," many of them about the La Crosse Packet Company. The company's "cheap freight boats" made \$4,225 "nett profit" on single round trips between Hastings and La Crosse in 1865, the newspaper claimed, while some of the packets, or regularly scheduled passenger and freight boats, realized \$10,000 net profit on round trips. The *Press* also reported that "those conversant with the steamboat business" stated that the company's eight packets realized from \$75,000 to \$100,000 each in net profits during that year, and estimated that the company made nearly or quite as much from its freight boats, making total net profits of at least \$1,200,000. However, the *Press* itself estimated that the company's net profits in 1865 amounted to not less than \$1,400,000.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Minute Book, 18; Stock Certificates Nos. 1-7, Davidson Papers; F. A. Ketchum, ed., *La Crosse City Business Directory for 1868-69*, La Crosse, 1868, 121, 135; Russell Blakely, "History of the... Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," *Minnesota Historical Collections*, VIII, St. Paul, 1898, 408.

⁴⁷ Account Book, n. p.; Stock Certificates Nos. 20-33, Davidson Papers; *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), April 13, 1864; *St. Paul Press*, July 2, 1861; *History of Dubuque County, Iowa*, Chicago, 1880, 801, 894.

⁴⁸ Minute Book, 26; Stock Certificates Nos. 11, 18, Davidson Papers.
⁴⁹ January 9, 1866.

At the convention, Davidson claimed that the profits of his company had been "greatly misrepresented" by the press. The statement by "a certain journal" that the La Crosse Packet Company had made \$1,400,000 in the past year was "a slight mistake"—a million dollars, at least, too much. Even the gross earnings of the company had not reached such an amount as that, he explained, adding that the gross earnings actually totaled less than half a million, out of which all expenses had to be paid. People talked as though there were no other boats on the river except his, Davidson continued. There was the North Western Line and the Northern Line, and he "certainly did not own all of them."⁵⁰ The *Press* replied in rebuttal after the convention that the La Crosse and the North Western Packet Companies virtually formed one consolidated company during the past year, paying their gross earnings into a common fund and dividing them equally at the end of the season. The newspaper did retreat somewhat, however, from its first estimate of the La Crosse Line's net profit in 1865, now claiming that the company's total down-river freight charges must have amounted to at least \$550,000, leaving the up-river freight charges to pay the expense of running the line.⁵¹

Davidson's statements about his company's profits came much closer to the truth than did the claims of the anti-monopolists. The earlier assertion in the *Press* itself that the people of Minnesota had paid about \$2,500,000 in freight charges in 1865 made the accusation that a single steamboat company had made a net profit of \$1,400,000 obviously ridiculous. Actually, the La Crosse Packet Company's net profit that season amounted to only \$160,000,⁵² so that it was no accident that Davidson offered to lease all of the line's boats and barges to the St. Paul merchants for \$156,000. As a matter of fact, the company's net profits for all five seasons from 1861 to 1865 totaled just \$419,000, which scarcely seems "gigantic" for an important packet line during the Civil War. Furthermore, because of the agreements between the La Crosse Line and the North Western Line to divide their gross earnings equally in 1864 and 1865, the latter company's profits could have been little if any larger than the former's.

The basic error made by the anti-monopoly press was its estimate of the "nett profits" of the individual steamboats. The

⁵⁰ *St. Paul Pioneer*, February 8, 1866.

⁵¹ February 9, 1866.

⁵² Ledger, 20, Davidson Papers.

St. Paul Press even rejected as too low the statement by "those conversant with the steamboat business" that the La Crosse Line's packets realized from \$75,000 to \$100,000 each in net profits during 1865, and that its freight boats earned nearly or quite as much. Actually, the highest "earnings" (not net profits) made by any La Crosse boat in one season amounted to \$65,000 in 1865, while the company's steamboats that year averaged about \$18,000. Furthermore, the company then had to deduct from the total earnings of its boats, plus the relatively small income from mail contracts, interest, and exchange, the large general expenses, such as officers' and office expenses, agents' commissions, new barges, major repairs, and several other items. The steamboatmen's claim that they had not raised their rates anything like the increase in their expenses is supported by the rise in daily expenses of one of the La Crosse Line's larger packets from \$155 in 1861 to \$411 in 1864. This increase of 165 per cent in just three years was almost twice as large as the rise in rates of about 85 per cent during the same period.⁵³

On the other hand, there undoubtedly was considerable truth to several of the charges which the anti-monopoly leaders and press hurled at the transportation companies. Whatever the reasons, they had increased freight rates greatly since the beginning of the Civil War, and had made little attempt to hide the fact that some of the railroad and steamboat lines worked in close agreement. The charge that these railroads discriminated against merchants shipping by independent steamers seems to be borne out by the announcement by the general manager of the Milwaukee and St. Paul that his company's "future" policy would be the principle of an open river. Also, it not only was true that the La Crosse and the North Western Packet Companies had an unannounced agreement to divide their gross earnings equally in 1865, but they had had a similar arrangement for the season before that.⁵⁴

The basic charge that the La Crosse and the North Western Lines had a "monopoly" of the steamboat business on the upper Mississippi in 1864 and 1865 is harder to evaluate. The two companies did not have exclusive control of steamboat service in the region, but they and their connecting railroads had a control that made possible the manipulation of rates. Some indication of the

⁵³ *Journal*, 8, 21, 28, 41, 115; *Ledger*, 20; *Account Book*, n. p., Davidson Papers.

⁵⁴ *Contracts*, February 4, 1864, February 17, 1865, Davidson Papers.

two packet lines' proportion of the total traffic can be found in the annual steamboat statistics for the important port of St. Paul. The two companies owned sixteen boats in 1864, almost a third of the forty-nine steamers in the St. Paul trade. Furthermore, Davidson personally owned several of the remaining boats, while the two companies chartered still others. The steamboats owned or chartered by the two lines made 48 per cent of the total of 630 trips to St. Paul that year. These companies owned twenty-eight steamers, or 57 per cent of the forty-nine boats in this trade during the following season, while their boats made 84 per cent of the total of 779 trips, certainly a dominating proportion of the business.⁵⁵ The La Cross Packet Company alone transported 2,793,000 bushels of wheat to La Crosse in 1865.⁵⁶ Since the total production of wheat in Minnesota that year was 9,475,000, not all of which was "exported," the La Crosse Line carried over 29 per cent of this major crop.⁵⁷

Looking back, it is easy enough to see why each side in the controversy thought the other grossly unfair. The anti-monopolists based some of their charges upon false information, estimates, or rumors stimulated by crusading zeal, postwar disillusionment over declining wheat prices, and perhaps a bit of frontier exaggeration. Nevertheless, the anti-monopolists were correct in claiming that several of the policies and practices of the dominant transportation companies were burdensome, discriminatory, and the results of covert agreements.

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⁵⁵ *St. Paul Pioneer*, November 13, 1864, November 30, 1865.

⁵⁶ William Rhodes to Ignatius Donnelly, January 27, 1866, Donnelly Papers, Minnesota Historical Society.

⁵⁷ Assistant Secretary of State of Minnesota, *Statistics of Minnesota ... for 1869*, St. Paul, 1870, 12.

Ledesma Ramos and the Origins of Spanish Fascism

The fascist intellectual was a symptomatic feature of European cultural and political life between the two World Wars.¹ He made his appearance in each of the four principal countries of the western half of the continent, but was also to be found in Portugal, Austria, the Low Countries and many of the east European nations. In Germany and especially in Italy, the fascistic intellectual helped provide the ideological *rationale* for a political movement with definite vigor and support.

In France and Spain, however, fascistic parties were virtually non-existent until the early nineteen-thirties. Here the theorists of corporative authoritarian nationalism expostulated in a physical vacuum, elaborating doctrine or tactics for groups which had no significant following, exhorting their few hearers to the creation of a force as yet unseen. *Action Française*, for many years the base of the authoritarian French Right, was no more than an intellectual organ, with a few snobbish street gangs attached.² Colonel De la Rocque's "Croix de Feu," which became the only serious Right nationalist movement in France, did not reach noteworthy proportions until 1933. While France never experienced fascist government, save for the ambiguities of Marshal Pétain's occupation regime, her southern neighbor, Spain, has undergone the longest siege of fascistoid government known to any major European country.

More than in any other area, the original ideological current of authoritarian nationalist statism in Spain began as the individual vision of an obscure and passionate ideologue. Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, the founder of the national syndicalist norms of Spanish *falangismo* and the subject of this essay in cultural despair, was born in the Castillian province of Zamora. Since his father was a village schoolmaster who died before the boy was grown, Ramiro

¹ The term "fascist" and words therefrom derivative are used in this essay with reference to persons or groups advocating some form of corporative-directed, authoritarian, anti-parliamentary, nationalist statism.

² An adequate study of *Action Française* has never been made. On Charles Maurras, there is William C. Buthman, *The Rise of Integral Nationalism in France*, New York, 1939; Michael Curtis, *Three Against the Third Republic: Sorel, Barrès and Maurras*, Princeton 1959; and Robert Havard de la Montagne, *Histoire de l'Action Française*, Paris 1950.

Ledesma early became accustomed to a meager existence. At the age of fifteen he set off for Madrid with considerable energy and no financial resources. There Ledesma won a poorly paid position as a postal clerk and, during the next six or seven years, succeeded in obtaining a degree at the University.³

Ledesma's first love was philosophical study and, especially, German philosophy. He also began very early to write. During his early twenties, he clung to his position at the Madrid post office and published essays on modern German philosophy in a number of intellectual reviews, including Ortega y Gasset's *Revista de Occidente*.⁴ These were hard and lonely years for Ledesma, submerged in the isolated existence of a solitary member of Madrid's intellectual proletariat. His life consisted of sorting mail and reading metaphysics.

By the time Ledesma reached his twenty-fifth birthday, in 1930, his country was coming to a parting of the ways. The frustrated development of Spain's economy, her very serious social problem, the breakdown of constitutional monarchy followed by the bankruptcy of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, were all bringing the old order to its knees. Inexorably, the Bourbon Monarchy was being driven onto the rocks.

In one sense, Ramiro Ledesma felt very closely identified with his nation's fate. He, too, was reaching a break with his previous manner of life. As he grew older, formal philosophy meant less and less to him. The technical distinctions of ontology began to look like artificial trivia, and discussion of epistemology came to resemble a smoke screen which masked real life. He hoped to break out of his narrow round of existence onto a more vital, active plane, to work with applied thought instead of abstract, theoretical reckoning. As the attraction of philosophy diminished, the appeal of political ideology increased sharply. The urge was to transcend his circumscribed intellectuality and create a new style of life for himself. "If reality is dull and petty, let us forge another with the material offered us by our dreams, and with the prodigious variety given us by our imagination."⁵

³ Ledesma's early life is dealt with in Juan Aparicio, *Ramiro Ledesma, Fundador de las J. O. N. S.*, Madrid, 1942, 13-18; Juan Aparicio, ed., *La Conquista del Estado*, Barcelona, 1939, vii-ix; Joaquín Arrarás, ed., *Historia de la Cruzada española*, Madrid, 1940, I, 385.

⁴ This material was later collected in *Los escritos filosóficos de Ramiro Ledesma*, Madrid, 1941.

⁵ Quoted by Emiliano Aguado, *Ramiro Ledesma en la crisis de España*, Madrid 1943, 23.

Ledesma later admitted that he had been much impressed by the sociological writings of José Ortega y Gasset⁶ at about the same time that he had been introduced to the rhetoric of hyper-nationalism through his association with Ernesto Giménez Caballero, a bizarre writer who directed one of the country's leading literary reviews.⁷ However, he soon rejected the aristocratic liberalism of Ortega, just as he found the extremist esthetics of Giménez Caballero inadequate. What was needed was to create a new national political ideology out of whole cloth. Once more Ledesma found his point of departure in German culture, but his new inspiration was Hitler, rather than Kant.

It was an easy step from metaphysics to abstract political ideology, for in the latter realm, too, Ledesma quickly discovered a way to deal with entire categories of existence. He wanted to transform his environment, the Spanish environment, with sweeping, radical changes. To do this he placed emphasis on emotion rather than reason, on warmth rather than light, on ideology rather than science, on politics rather than philosophy. He understood sufficiently the nature of the tradition-oriented society of Old Castile from which he had sprung to realize that his new values had certain roots in Spanish custom. It seemed clear to him that the emotional temper of the Spanish people was incompatible with orthodox liberalism or scientific socialism, and for his own part, Ledesma equally abhorred the atomistic individualism of the liberal creed and the fatalistic impersonality of Marxism. Thus he felt sure that he was in trend with the spirit of his time and, in the long run, with the feeling of most of his fellow countrymen.

If the basis of his new intellectual life were to be valid, however, Ledesma was convinced that it must be wholly modern and support a broad plane of physical reference. Two revolutionary creeds were in the political air of Europe in 1930: radical Leftist socialism and integral nationalism. Combined in one doctrine they could be a source of enormous power. The political philosopher of the post office craved emotional identification with a movement of this sort, which could release the pent-up vigor of the nation. He dreamed of a social revolution, indigenous to Spain, combining nationalism and socialism in the achievement of its goal. The

⁶ Ramiro Ledesma Ramos (Roberto Lanzas, pseud.), *¿Fascismo en España?* Madrid, 1935, 35.

⁷ Giménez Caballero's most representative writings are *Genio de España*, Madrid, 1932, and *La nueva catolicidad*, Madrid, 1933. There is a succinct summary in Alfred Mendizábal, *The Martyrdom of Spain: Origins of a Civil War*, New York, 1938, 178ff.

idea was novel in the Iberian peninsula, but it reflected the mood of the era: Soviet Russia was in the throes of its first Five Year Plan; the world depression threatened the foundations of the liberal democracies, while the Nazi Party revived with great *éclat* and the hour of vindication for Mussolini's system seemed about to arrive.

To ride the crest of the future, Ledesma believed that he had only to shake off the atmosphere and methodology of precise philosophical thought and get into the midst of the stream of activity leading to the "new world." From that point, the horizon was boundless. Ledesma could even hope to make himself a leader of some sort of Spanish fascism. His personal characteristics, however, seemed ill cut out for the role; even his friends admitted that Ledesma had "a cold personality and an ill-kempt appearance."⁸ He was lacking in personal magnetism and had no individual style, save for a rhetorical emphasis on audacity. Thus it was only natural that he borrow mannerisms from the style designers of authoritarian nationalism in Italy and Germany. Soon Ledesma even began to comb his hair over the side of his forehead, *Führer*-fashion.⁹

At the same time, he refused to copy slavishly the political doctrine of central European national revolutionary groups. Quite to the contrary, Ledesma decried "mimicry" and made a fetish of ideological originality, indicating that if Spanish nationalist revolutionary ideology were to be unique, it could be called neither corporatism nor national socialism. In reality, the only truly Spanish revolutionary movement was Anarcho-syndicalism. Thus if he were to be true to his designs, Ledesma decided that the neo-Leftist quality of the national revolution and the nationalist quality of the neo-Leftist revolution could be properly synthesized only in "national syndicalism." This notion was not necessarily prompted by the concrete possibilities of the Spanish political world in 1931, but sprang largely from the mind of Ramiro Ledesma.

During the last year of the Monarchy (1930-1931), proposals for a national *ralliement* were common among Spain's intellectual leaders. The most perceptive and influential of this elite, José Ortega y Gasset, made repeated calls for a great national party,

⁸ Aguado, *Ramiro Ledesma*, 13. They pictured him as "a man of harsh temperament, steel-like intolerance..."; Emmett Hughes, *Report from Spain*, New York, 1947, 23-24.

⁹ Francisco Guillén Salaya, *Anecdotario de las J. O. N. S.*, San Sebastián, 1938, 12. There are photographs in Arrarás, *Historia de la Cruzada*, I.

an all-inclusive national front, a party of parties which would represent all Spaniards almost as a corporate entity.¹⁰ To Ledesma, this was sad, dismal stuff. Liberal nationalism meant nothing to him, but he had difficulty finding companions with whom to offer an alternative. The last vestiges of the old political regime were collapsing while he watched, and somewhere there must be other young enthusiasts for a radical new order. Searching for collaborators, Ledesma found an even ten, all young men from the universities, like himself.¹¹ Initially, they showed a good deal of enthusiasm for the preparation of a new nationalist weekly review, but there was no money to support it. After several vexations, they managed to get their organ started on a small donation from the pro-monarchist propaganda fund of the last government organized under the aegis of Alfonso XIII.¹² It seems that political informants of the last prime minister, Admiral Aznar, saw some value in using Ramiro's group as a device to create division among liberal intellectuals. As it turned out, such hopes were vain.

The little band of would-be nationalist revolutionaries signed their first manifesto by candle-light in an office consisting of four bare rooms which even lacked electricity. Their proclamation, a vague blue-print for a new state, appeared in the first issue of the paper, *La Conquista del Estado*, emphasizing the following points:

The new state will be constructive, creative. It will supplant individuals and groups, and the ultimate sovereignty will reside in it and only in it. . . . We defend, therefore, Panstatism. . . .

. . . Exaltation of the Universities . . . , the supreme creative organ of scientific and cultural values. . . .

Articulation of the varied districts of Spain. The basic reality of Spain is not Madrid, but the provinces. Our most radical impulse must consist, then, in connecting and encouraging the vital force of the provinces. . . .

.

Syndication of economic forces will be obligatory and in each instance bound to the highest ends of the State. The State will discipline and will guarantee production at all times. . . . Expropriated land, once nationalized, must not be divided, since this would be equivalent to the dismal and archaic liberal solution, but ceded to the peasants themselves, so that they

¹⁰ For example, *El Sol* (the Ortega tribune), Dec. 6, 1930. Cf. *El Socialista*, Jan. 6, 1930.

¹¹ Aparicio, *La Conquista del Estado*, xi. Aparicio served as Ledesma's secretary during these months.

¹² According to Emiliano Aguado, who was an occasional participant in the group's activities. Conversation in Madrid, Dec. 6, 1958.

themselves may cultivate the land, under the supervision of autonomous municipal entities, and tending to communal and cooperative exploitation.

.....
Our primary goal is revolutionary efficiency. Therefore we do not seek votes, but audacious and valiant minorities. . . . We favor the politician with a military sense of responsibility and combativeness. Our organization will be founded on the basis of syndical cells and political cells.¹³

During these early months, Ledesma's propaganda was very confused. He applauded many aspects of Carlism,¹⁴ then eulogized the Anarchists at the opposite end of the political spectrum.¹⁵ His rhetoric often amounted to little more than "up with the new" and "down with the old":

Long live the new world of the twentieth century!
Long live Fascist Italy!
Long live Soviet Russia!
Long live Hitlerian Germany!
Long live the Spain we will make!
Down with the bourgeois parliamentary democracies!¹⁶

Indirectly, Ledesma explained the metaphysic of his new political creed when he wrote that though the intellectual "constitutes a magnificent human type, and is of all the social strata the most indispensable,"¹⁷ pure ideas have no reality. Only physical extension lent significance. Hence the national aspirations of the people could be very real, but intellectual activity was fully valid only when identified with such feelings. "Pay no attention to words," ran one headline. "Require deeds. Only deeds."¹⁸ *La Conquista del Estado*, of course, was strictly a talking-association; no segment of the "people" identified their "aspirations" with it.

Ledesma, however, always remained an intellectual. No matter how passionate and fascistic, or how violent and materialistic his talk became, it was always based on purely abstract calculation. He was never concerned with practical alternatives. Instead of an Absolute Idea, Ledesma was impelled to the confection of an Absolute Passion, nationalism. His emotion sprang from his

¹³ *La Conquista del Estado*, no. 1, Mar. 14, 1931.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 2, Mar. 23, 1931.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 11, May 23, 1931. This contradiction may be reconciled if one bears in mind that these were the two Spanish political groups which most thoroughly opposed the legacy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 13, June 6, 1931.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 15, Apr. 11, 1931.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 4, Apr. 4, 1931.

mental contortions, and even his irrationality was very often calculated. He none the less strove desperately to appear tough and revolutionary. Bizarre costumery—a lion's claw with lightning rays emblazoned on a sort of Faustian garb minus the cloak—was selected for the clique. Only Ledesma was ever photographed wearing it.¹⁹

In one sense, he was more honest than other anti-Leftists, since Ledesma made no effort to justify his brand of national revolution by the threat from the Left. He personally admitted that no such Leftist threat existed in Spain in 1931, for the Socialists were collaborating with the government and the Anarchists largely abstained from political activity, while Spanish communism scarcely counted adherents.²⁰ According to Ledesma, the immediate danger came from the bourgeois Right.²¹ Therefore, he tried to appeal to all revolutionary forces in Spain that were not Marxist in orientation. For example, he commended the Anarcho-Syndicalists for being the first people in Spain "to untie themselves from the bourgeois love of [individual] liberty."²² He condemned them for refusing to base their goals on a national plane, but recognized in the Anarcho-Syndicalist "the most efficient subversive lever"²³ of 1931-32, because their revolutionary ardor was unsullied by connection with any branch of international Socialism.

These political attitudes were based on pure conceptualization and were not related to immediate reality. In 1931 Spain's basic problem was to make parliamentary democracy take root in a land hitherto dominated by an intransigent Right, now challenged by a Left unable and unwilling to accustom itself to the slow give-and-take of democratic government. Ledesma's proposals offered no solution to this dilemma, but simply ignored the problem in favor of a violent new vision. Ledesma planned a number of provocative demonstrations with his handful of supporters, but none of these efforts made any impression. No one was awed by his nationalistic fulminations or his cries that "the individual has

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 6, Apr. 18, 1931.

²⁰ Ledesma usually interpreted Russian Communism as the belated nationalist revolutionary movement of the Russian people. Within the Russian context, he deemed it a praiseworthy enterprise, considering Communism dangerous only when manipulated by Russians to aggrandize Russian nationalism. These points were later elaborated in *Discurso a las juventudes españolas*, Madrid, 1935.

²¹ *La Conquista del Estado*, no. 9, May 9, 1931. He reiterated this opinion four years later in *¿Fascismo en España?*, 48.

²² Quoted by Francisco Guillén Salaya, *Historia del sindicalismo español*, Madrid, 1943, 141, 145.

²³ Quoted by Aparicio, *La Conquista des Estado*, xviii.

died."²⁴ Though he was eager to win the approbation of leading intellectuals, Ledesma could impress neither Ortega, who had ignored free copies of *La Conquista del Estado*, nor the more emotional Miguel de Unamuno, who received Ledesma's citations with equal disdain.

Life was difficult for Ledesma in 1931. He saw some of the more constructive notions entertained by his clique, such as the establishment of agrarian syndicates of small peasant holders in Galicia, collapse for want of finances,²⁵ and the authorities frequently made things even more discouraging by banning his sheet. On two occasions, he even was arrested for provocative and abusive language, and after six months sources of financial support dried up altogether. Earlier, Ledesma appears to have received a meager subsidy from the world of high finance, especially from the Bilbao bankers, but the latter naturally were not interested in investing any significant sum in a radical intellectual utterly lacking political adherents. *La Conquista del Estado* came to an end on October 16, 1931, and it seemed that Ramiro Ledesma Ramos would never be the *caudillo* of Spanish fascism.²⁶

Now forced to search for new collaborators in his self-created movement of "national syndicalism," he found an associate in the person of a young rural lawyer from Valladolid, Onésimo Redondo Ortega. Redondo came from the independent peasantry of Old Castille, very much like Ledesma himself. He had been educated by the Jesuits and had studied in Germany, where he had been impressed by the dynamism of National Socialism. He was a clerical and a Rightist, but he also believed passionately in economic justice and in direct action. Hence he advocated a nationalist lower class revolution to combat materialism, vice and the class struggle. He was especially concerned with saving the economic position of the solid, conservative peasantry of northern Spain.²⁷

²⁴ *La Conquista del Estado*, no. 11, May 23, 1931.

²⁵ According to Manuel Souto Vilas, Ledesma's chief deputy in this enterprise. Conversation in Bilbao, Dec. 8, 1958.

²⁶ Ledesma's original ten apostles had already begun to split up. One joined the Azaña liberals, another the Lerroux Radicals, and a third the clerical CEDA. A fourth went back to the Left, while a fifth, it would seem, later entered a mental institution. According to *¿Fascismo en España?*, 54-57, and Charles Foltz, *The Masquerade in Spain*, Boston, 1948, 63.

²⁷ The background of Onésimo Redondo is dealt with in Narciso Sánchez, "Onésimo Redondo," *Temas españoles*, Madrid, 1953, no. 39, 5-6, and in "Onésimo Redondo y el Sindicato Remolachero," *SP*, Mar. 8, 1959, 10. All Redondo's propaganda articles are available in his *Obras completas*, Madrid, 1952.

Redondo had begun a weekly in Valladolid during the summer of 1931. Soon afterward, he and Ledesma made contact and began to discuss the possibility of forming a new nationalist political movement. During October of that year they founded the "Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista" (J. O. N. S.), the first political group in Spain to bear the national syndicalist label. The membership was largely composed of two nuclei centered around Redondo in Valladolid and Ledesma in Madrid. To demonstrate their radical aims, the formation adopted as its colors the red-black-red banner of the Anarchists.

During the next eighteen months, the J. O. N. S. movement scarcely got off the ground. Ledesma was silenced throughout 1932 for lack of any resources with which to carry on propaganda work. The only audible voice in the movement was that of Redondo at Valladolid. It was not until after the latter had become implicated in the abortive military rebellion of 1932 and had had to flee to Portugal that Ledesma could regain his personal pre-eminence, though on a rather insecure basis.²⁸

In 1933, the national political situation began for the first time to work in favor of the radical Right. The first two years of liberal Republican rule in Spain were a failure, and the unrest which gained volume during 1933 aided all elements of the Right, and any other group which opposed the liberal regime. After serving a two-month prison term for abusive language in the winter of 1932-1933, Ledesma saw his movement attract followers. In Spain, as in France, those most susceptible to the emotional rhetoric of nationalist re-integration were half-educated young people from the universities. An effort to form a student syndicate at the University of Madrid in March, 1933, was immediately rewarded with several hundred affiliates.²⁹ A syndicate of taxi drivers was also set up,³⁰ and one hundred young activists were organized into squads of four to do battle in the streets.³¹ Fur-

²⁸ The events of this period are dealt with in *¿Fascismo en España?*, 75-78, and in Guillén Salaya, *Anecdotario*, 112-114.

²⁹ *¿Fascismo en España?*, 91; David Jato, *La rebelión de los estudiantes*, Madrid, 1953, 54-55.

³⁰ Guillén Salaya, *Historia del sindicalismo español*, 55.

³¹ This was the second not the first, street gang of the radical Right in Republican Spain. The first had been organized during the winter of 1930-31 by a neurologist from Valencia, Dr. José María Albiñana. This group, the "Partido Nacionalista Español," was composed of tiny nuclei in Madrid and Burgos. Its proclaimed program was the defense of all existing institutions save the Republican government. Its militia group, the "Legionarios de Albiñana," was forced to cover with the advent of the Republic, and the Doctor himself was placed under arrest. He has re-

thermore, the moneyed Right was ready to subsidize Ledesma's radical agitation once more, and gave him the backing to begin publication of a new monthly review of J. O. N. S. propaganda.³² The "Juntas" gained adherents, and by mid-1933 national syndicalist units had been set up in six other cities of Spain. Though each group numbered but a few dozen members, two of them (Valencia and Zaragoza) began to publish weekly reviews. Given such encouragement Ledesma could face the future with renewed confidence.

The idea of some sort of national corporatist or syndicalist movement had become attractive to other sectors of the Spanish Right besides the lunatic fringe, but practical-minded financiers did not wish to leave the major effort for "Spanish fascism" in the hands of a cold, passionate, unpredictable intellectual like Ramiro Ledesma. A variety of candidates were suggested or presented themselves for the leadership of a new nationalist movement.³³ By the summer of 1933, direction of this new initiative had come into the hands of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, eldest son of the late dictator, and Julio R  iz de Alda, an aviator who had taken part in the first trans-Atlantic flight to Buenos Aires.³⁴ Young Jos   Antonio was a very different type from his genial, anti-intellectual father. He was scholarly and erudite on occasion, but above all a lyricist whose self-professed desire was to establish a "poetic" new national revolutionary movement.³⁵ By contrast, R  iz de Alda was simple, hearty and direct. A man of action and a good organizer, he was non-intellectual and personally inarticulate, and was clearly overshadowed by the eloquent Jos   Antonio.

The two collaborators wanted to build their nationalist move-

counted his experiences in *Despu  s de la dictadura: Los cuervos sobre la tumba*, Madrid, 1930; *Esp  a bajo la dictadura republicana*, Madrid, 1932; *Prisionero de la Rep  blica*, Madrid, 1932; and *Confinado en las Hurdes*, Madrid, 1933.

Albi  ana had been hesitantly financed by members of the *latifundista* class, and Ramiro Ledesma spoke bitterly of his "reactionary" activities. *  Fascismo en Espa  a?*, 52.

³² *  Fascismo en Espa  a?*, 110, 117; Francisco Guill  n Salaya, *Los que nacimos con el siglo*, Madrid, 1954, 127.

³³ One aspect of this is treated by Indalecio Prieto in *El Socialista*, May 19, 1949.

³⁴ R  iz de Alda's political career is summarized in the Prologue to his *Obras completas*, Barcelona, 1939.

³⁵ The brief ideological trajectory of Jos   Antonio is available in the *Obras completas de Jos   Antonio Primo de Rivera*, Madrid, 1952, and the *Textos in  ditos y epistolario de Jos   Antonio Primo de Rivera*, Madrid, 1956.

ment on the broadest possible platform. Realizing full well that Ledesma had originated national syndicalist ideology in Spain, they met with him in August, 1933, to determine if it were possible to unite their efforts. Ledesma sneered at Primo de Rivera's estheticism, and derided what he called his "mimicry." He later claimed that José Antonio had wanted to call the proposed movement "Spanish Fascism," but admitted he had been "perhaps too intransigent" in rejecting these overtures.³⁶ When he refused to cooperate, Primo de Rivera and Rúa de Alda went ahead by themselves, relying on many members of the old conservative and military circles close to General Primo de Rivera. Their movement, called "Falange Española" ("Spanish Phalanx"), was founded in Madrid on October 29, 1933. It overshadowed the J. O. N. S. from the very beginning.

Ledesma later admitted, "The entry of new militants and the upward course of the J. O. N. S. slackened most noticeably from the very beginning of F. E."³⁷ Financial support dried up once more, since all the safe money was going to the more reliable and conservative Falange. The J. O. N. S. were able to advance only one candidate (Redondo) in the elections of 1933, but even he withdrew after strong entreaties from the Right. On the morrow of the balloting, the situation was even more gloomy, for the electoral victory of the moderate parliamentary conservatives made the prospects of the radical Right look extremely meager. The middle classes did not need to resort to extremism in repulsing the Left, and fascism seemed superfluous. Two national syndicalist movements in Spain were clearly one too many.

During the winter of 1933-34 there was considerable pressure on Ledesma to agree to a fusion of the J. O. N. S. and the Falange.³⁸ On February 11, 1934, he called a meeting of the J. O. N. S. National Council to consider the problem. He believed a union practicable because

... the enormous defects that were noticed in F. E. were, perhaps, of [entering the Falange], it lacked vigor and a unified historical consciousness, so that it should not have been difficult to displace it from the areas of control. On the other hand, the J. O. N. S., utilizing the resonant

³⁶ *¿Fascismo en España?*, 111.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

³⁸ There is an interesting letter in this regard written to Ledesma by his Salamanca lieutenant, Francisco Bravo Martínez, in Bravo's *José Antonio: El hombre, el jefe, el camarada*, Madrid, 1939, 63-64.

platform of F. E., could secure the popularization of their ideas with relative facility.³⁹

He counted on the more direct, radical nature of the Jonsista membership to change the predominantly conservative character of the original Falange. The fusion was effected immediately and the new unified movement was entitled "Falange Española de las J. O. N. S." Ramiro Ledesma joined José Antonio de Rivera and Julio Rúa de Alda to form the executive triumvirate of the party.⁴⁰

It was not so easy to influence the policy of the new movement as Ledesma had calculated. The diffusion of power within the party hierarchy was considerable, with three or four groups pulling in different directions.⁴¹ Though he had always been a verbal proponent of violence and direct action, Ledesma did not figure significantly in the struggle for power between terrorist activists and the literary-minded leadership of José Antonio which wracked the party in mid-1934. After José Antonio gained the upper hand in this contest, Ledesma was left with even less influence than before. When he could not persuade José Antonio to adopt his plan for holding great party rallies in the major cities of Spain, he became morose and withdrew from the other leaders, shutting himself up within his own office cubicle.⁴²

A rebellion by the Spanish Left threatened to break out in the autumn of 1934, and the political situation grew very tense. The supporters of José Antonio Primo de Rivera feared that the national syndicalist party would break up in confusion unless a strong, centralized command were provided. Ledesma was not particularly popular with Falange militants, and could never have competed in a popularity contest with the vigorous and inspiring José Antonio. At the National Council meeting of the Falange held on October 4, 1934, José Antonio Primo de Rivera was elected *Jefe Nacional* of the national syndicalist movement.⁴³ Ramiro Ledesma acquiesced as best he could.

³⁹ *¿Fascismo en España?*, 145-146.

⁴⁰ These details are dealt with in Francisco Bravo Martínez, *Historia de Falange Española de las J. O. N. S.*, Madrid, 1943, 23; Felipe Ximénez de Sandoval, *José Antonio. Biografía*, Madrid, 1949, 222-229; and Arrarás, *Historialde la Cruzada*, II, 19-23.

⁴¹ Much of this is revealed in Juan Antonio Ansaldo, *¿Paraqué...? (De Alfonso XIII a Juan III)*, Buenos Aires, 1953, 81-87. Ansaldo was the leader of one of the dissident factions.

⁴² Ximénez de Sandoval, *José Antonio*, 372.

⁴³ The most accurate account is in Marqués de Zayas, *Historia de la vieja guardia de Baleares*, Madrid, 1955, 38.

To salve Ledesma's wounds, José Antonio appointed him President of the "Junta Política" of the party. The first task of the founder of national syndicalist ideology was to edit the official program of the movement. Ledesma's resulting draft of Twenty-Seven Points emphasized the same goals which had been noised about in *La Conquista del Estado* three years previously. Refined and softened in style by José Antonio, the Twenty-Seven Points were adopted as the party's official creed.⁴⁴

A precise definition of the party's position had become necessary because of the dissatisfaction which the far Right now felt with the a-clerical, increasingly radical-sounding Falange. The monarchists and wealthy corporatists who had first financed the party finally decided to begin a truly conservative corporatist movement of their own, called the "Bloque Nacional." At the end of 1934, the same thing happened to the Falange that had befallen the J.O.N.S. at the end of 1933: its sources of finance and support were drained by another nationalist movement less radical than itself.⁴⁵

The Falange therefore made a great effort to define the essentially revolutionary nature of its aims and broaden its appeal to the working classes. In the process, Ramiro became more and more dissatisfied with José Antonio's direction, which he considered too timid and literary. The movement was slow to win support, and Ledesma claimed that much more could be done to bolster the Falange's prestige and propaganda potential. This argument grew for several months, until it became clear that the national syndicalist movement was not large enough for both José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Ramiro Ledesma Ramos. Deciding to break out of the predicament into which he had been forced, Ledesma attempted to split the party wide open, but most of his former cohorts, such as Onésimo Redondo, soon got cold feet. When José Antonio learned of Ledesma's plans, he called an impromptu meeting of the "Junta Política" in mid-January, 1935, and expelled Ramiro Ledesma from the national syndicalist movement. Ledesma then attempted to win the approval of the meager membership of the Falange syndicates, but here too the flashing eye and command-

⁴⁴ *¿Fascismo en España?*, 213.

⁴⁵ The doctrines of the "Bloque Nacional" and its leader, José Calvo Sotelo, are dealt with in Eugenio Vegas Latapié, *El pensamiento político de Calvo Sotelo*, Madrid, 1941, and Eduardo Aunós, *Calvo Sotelo y la política de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1943.

ing personal presence of José Antonio Primo de Rivera won the day.⁴⁶

Four years of political agitation had returned Ramiro Ledesma to his point of departure—obscurity. During the next few months he managed to wheedle enough money from the monarchist treasury to permit the publication of a few numbers of a sheet entitled *Patria Sindicalista*.⁴⁷ He threatened to sue the Falange for continued use of the initials J.O.N.S., but no more than a handful of former Jonsistas followed him into his new venture, which soon folded. Ledesma then retired from direct agitation, and monarchist sources provided funds for the publication of two short books whose composition occupied the next few months of his life.⁴⁸ The first, *Discurso a las juventudes españolas*, was an emotional exordium to Spanish youth, and had little concrete content. The second, *¿Fascismo en España?*, offered Ledesma's critique of the national syndicalist movement he had founded and had then seen pass into other hands. Ledesma intimated that he preferred to be remembered as a nationalist and a revolutionary rather than as a fascist, which he had always denied being, saying "in conclusion, that the red shirt of Garibaldi fits Ramiro Ledesma and his comrades better than the black shirt of Mussolini."⁴⁹ Following this, Ledesma announced his temporary retirement from politics and went back to work in the post office. José Antonio Primo de Rivera would not let eager Falange gunmen touch him, saying, "With all his defects, he is very intelligent."⁵⁰

Ledesma returned to the political wars in the spring of 1936 with a new weekly sheet called *Nuestra Revolución*. According to documents later found in the German consulate at Barcelona, this was financed by the Nazi propaganda fund for Spain.⁵¹ It made little difference one way or the other, for the paper only survived a few numbers, and its editor was arrested in the general round-up of figures of the radical Right which marked the hectic months preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. On the day

⁴⁶ Ledesma's account of his last days in the party is in *¿Fascismo en España?*, 218-221. The other side is given in Sandoval, *José Antonio*, 373-376.

⁴⁷ There are extracts in Sandoval, 382-394.

⁴⁸ According to Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, former treasurer of the monarchist front, "Renovación Española". Conversation in Lisbon, May 1, 1959.

⁴⁹ *¿Fascismo en España?*, 226.

⁵⁰ Bravo, *José Antonio*, 56.

⁵¹ These materials are summarized in Emile Burns, ed., *The Nazi Conspiracy in Spain*, London, 1937.

when the conflict exploded, Ledesma was still imprisoned in Madrid. After that, only a miracle could have saved his life. A man with his political background was as good as dead in Republican Spain during the first weeks of the Civil War. He survived the general slaughter of prisoners at Madrid's Cárcel Modelo on August 22, but was eventually executed in October, 1936. He and José Antonio Primo de Rivera died within a month of each other, both at the hands of Republican firing squads. Neither of them was to witness, much less to participate, in the final resolution of political forces among the Spanish Right.

The interplay of parliamentary Right, reactionary Right and radical Right was resolved in the spring of 1937 by General Francisco Franco, who emerged as Chief of State for the new regime in rebellion against the Republic. The Generalísimo solved the problems of political form and ideology for the "new Spain" by exalting the formerly insignificant Falange, now swollen by a mass wartime enrollment, into the Party of the State.

Perhaps it was just as well that Ledesma did not live to see the national syndicalist regime of General Franco, for the latter's "new Spain" was not exactly the sort of thing he had in mind. On the other hand, the pan-activism of Ramiro never had any precise direction. He had merely wanted to overturn the old bourgeois order in Spain, but, like most modern radicals, he was always extremely vague with regard to the precise nature of the "new world" which he envisaged.

Ramiro Ledesma was another product of the cultural despair of the inter-war years. When he gave up metaphysics in 1930, he gave up an entire prior order of existence. The anti-bourgeois, national revolutionary posture which he adopted was an intellectualized emotional creed designed to fill an existential vacuum rather than a calculated response to a practical problem. That Franco's brand of national syndicalism has tended to protect those middle classes whom the philosopher-turned-demagogue Ledesma affected to despise is not altogether a paradox, for the national syndicalist program lacked any real syndical theory or content prior to 1939.

It is difficult to find in the work of Ramiro, so tied to the concrete, a concrete norm about anything in ordinary life. When he talks of social affairs he loses himself in vague rhetoric which would never satisfy anyone who is in open struggle with life, and when he speaks to us on his own account of the economic order of the State the same thing happens.

The worst occurs when, perhaps taking note of this vagueness, he endeavors to tell us something concrete about things he has not studied, for then one sees only too clearly that he has wanted to convince us with an artificial argument.⁵²

Ledesma and his companions never really bothered with practical matters. The kind of pressure they felt upon them was of a different nature. As his friend Emiliano Aguado wrote,

... The work of Ramiro... did not propound anything concrete; it was rather the expression of a human lack we shall continue to feel so long as the present spiritual state of Europe endures.⁵³

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⁵² Aguado, *Ramiro Ledesma*, 114.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 115.

French Language Press in the Upper Mississippi and Great Lakes Areas

Even a quick glance at a map of the North Central section of the United States is sufficient to remind one of the part played by France in the discovery, mapping and clearing of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes areas. Yet, if the many French names sprinkled throughout the area are unmistakable proofs of the French appearance and settlement on the Mid-American continent, so, the names of more than sixty French-language newspapers published in the same area throughout the nineteenth century are unmistakable proofs of the persisting French influence and vindicate Telesphore St. Pierre's assertion that after 1763, though "le drapeau français ne flottait plus sur le sol du Michigan"—and we might insert here North Midwest instead of Michigan—"la race française n'y avait pas dit son dernier mot."¹

A few words on the French and French-Canadian population might help to understand better the history of the press they originated. Though the years which followed the French defeat witnessed no significant migration from France to the Middle West or to the United States, yet, French culture found its way to America through the medium of the large numbers of French Canadians who in the Nineteenth century left Canada for the United States. In fact, the westward march of the French Canadians began even before the War of Independence, as many Canadian fur traders and trail blazers were naturally led to the Great Lakes which, in turn, became a secondary basis of operation for further progress westward and southward. Following the explorers, who could not resist the attraction of the Great River and the salty waters still further west, settlers cleared and occupied the land, clustering in and around the forts which marked the westward march.

The Nineteenth century, with its two rebellions in Canada, and the American War of Secession, witnessed a considerable increase in the number of French Canadian immigrants. Two areas were particularly affected by this immigration: New England, because

¹ Telesphore St. Pierre, *Histoire des Canadiens du Michigan*, Montreal, 1895, 220.

of its proximity and of its fast-developing textile industry, and the Middle West, the natural outlet of the Saint Lawrence waterway, which for many still had the appeal of the 'West'. Thus in 1849, a traveler to St. Paul found that "the Catholics are the only denomination who has a church, [and that] the services there are held in the French language."² Likewise in Chicago,

... a considerable accession of French and French Canadians was made during the fifties. The sons and daughters of 'la belle France' increased so rapidly in Chicago that just when the influence of the Old Regime had about disappeared, they became numerous enough to erect a church of their own where services were performed in French.³

Nearby, Kankakee was another French-Canadian settlement where, in 1857, a French paper *Le Journal de l'Illinois* started publication with a subscription list of 1,200 persons. As for Michigan, we are told that there were about 20,000 persons of French origin in 1840, the number increasing to 36,000 in the next decade.⁴

The American Civil War further accelerated the current of immigrant from Canada, as the North's developing industry was in dire need of manpower. It is estimated, of the French Canadian immigration to the United States, "three-fourths took place between 1865 and 1890."⁵ In Michigan alone, the French-Canadian population reached 70,000 by 1870. In Chicago, a 30,000-strong French speaking group had the added support of the many French-Canadian elements scattered within a fifty mile radius of Chicago. Further north, in Minnesota, the French column published in the State's first newspapers for those who could not read English, was now replaced by regular all-French newspapers in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth.

Thus, in 1895, following the heavy immigration of the post Civil War years, the French-speaking group in the area stood as follows:

Au sud, il y a sur le lac Erié les colonies canadiennes du nord de l'Ohio, qui comptent bien 20,000 habitants... et, sur le lac Michigan celles de l'Illinois qui forment une population de pas moins de 50,000 âmes. A l'ouest, les groupes du lac Supérieur s'appuient sur ceux du nord du Wisconsin et du Minnesota qui peuvent avoir une population franco-canadienne de 60,000 à 70,000 âmes. Enfin, par le Comté d'Essex et le Sault Sainte

² Quoted in "Impressions of Minnesota in 1849," *Minnesota Historical Bulletin*, V, 287.

³ Arthur Charles Cole, *Centennial History of Illinois*, Chicago, 1919, III, 145.

⁴ St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 221.

⁵ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1909, VI, 272.

Marie à l'est, les Canadiens du Michigan tendent la main à leurs frères de la vallée de l'Ottawa et de la baie Georgienne qui s'avancent en rangs serrés pour former une chaîne ininterrompue de postes français qui s'appuieront sur la Province de Québec même.⁶

It is clear that today this French Canadian element has been assimilated in the American melting pot, while the area still boasts strong and culturally-distinct Scandinavian and German groups. Altogether, French and French-Canadian influence seems to have been smaller than one could have expected.

An examination of the files of the newspapers they published leaves no doubt that the French and French-Canadians themselves are to be blamed for their failure to leave a deeper mark in the American cultural tradition. Editors and contributors alike agree that the Canadians' lack of interest in political matters and their reluctance to organize account for their subsequent failure to maintain and preserve an original French cultural tradition. Alexandre Belisle, the historian of the Franco-American Press in the United States, wrote in 1911:

...notre presse aux États-Unis a un terrible ennemi, contre lequel elle doit lutter sans cesse pour maintenir ses positions au prix d'efforts incroyables et de sacrifices sans fin, et cet ennemi c'est l'indifférence ou l'apathie d'un trop grand nombre de nos compatriotes à l'égard du journal français local...⁷

Not very optimistic about the future of this press, Belisle added in the same page: "La disparition éventuelle de notre presse franco-américaine est dans le domaine des choses possibles." Though there still exists an active French-Canadian press in New England, the fight seems to have ended in this area.⁸ It is true, nevertheless, that it was not easily won as many were those who attempted to preserve the national tongue—and with it the traditional French heritage—through the medium of a periodical press.

Alexandre Belisle held this French-Canadian press in high esteem:

⁶ St. Pierre, *Histoire*, op. cit., 310.

⁷ Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Canadienne aux États-Unis*, Worcester, 1911, Introduction.

⁸ Edward B. Ham in an article entitled "Journalism and French Survival in New England," does not show much enthusiasm as to the future of the French-language press in New England either: "A footnote suffices to record the writer's expectation that the French language will survive on a greatly reduced scale in Maine and in New Hampshire with only scattered traces elsewhere." *New England Quarterly*, XI (March, 1938), 90.

Si l'on pouvait juger du degré de culture littéraire d'un peuple par ses journaux, on devrait convenir que les Canadiens des États-Unis se sont montrés un des plus intellectuels, car ils ont été légion les journaux de langue française qui ont germé et poussé en sol américain pendant une période de 25 à 30 ans et sont morts d'inanition après une carrière plus ou moins accidentée. . . .⁹

A similarly favorable estimate was given by the *Catholic Encyclopedia* in an article devoted to the French Catholics in America: "In fifty years, the French Canadian immigrants have built a press that is not surpassed, from the Catholic point of view, by that of any other group of immigrants in the United States."¹⁰

It should be said, however, that Belisle's main concern was the French-Canadian press, and in his pioneering study he emphasized the New England States at the expense of the Mississippi Valley, the Great Lakes and other areas of French or French-Canadian population. Pointing out at the difference between the French and French-Canadian publications in this country, he declared:

Il faut distinguer entre les deux presses; l'esprit et les tendances générales ne sont pas les mêmes: la presse française se donnait pour mission de rappeler aux Français expatriés le souvenir de la patrie, la belle France; et les journaux canadiens entretenaient dans le cœur de leurs lecteurs le culte et l'amour du pays natal, le Canada.¹¹

This difference is already quite noticeable when one compares French and French-Canadian papers published within one area. It is far more considerable, however, when one compares the newspapers published in an area predominately settled by French-Canadians, with those published in an area where the French element was the stronger. Thus, in his study of "Louis Richard Cortambert and the First French Newspapers in St. Louis,"¹² Professor John McDermott underlines the differences between the French-language newspapers of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes—where the immigration was mostly from French Canada—and those of the Lower Mississippi Valley, where the native French element was predominant.

On the whole one might say that the French Canadian press in the area was too much a means to an end, that end being the preservation of the French language, and through it of the culturally-

⁹ Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse*, Introduction.

¹⁰ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI, 275.

¹¹ Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse*, 317.

¹² The Papers of the Bibliography Society of America, XXXII (1940), 221-253.

distinct French Canadian heritage. It did not respond to a clearly defined need of the settlers themselves, but was more or less imposed upon them. The French press, on the other hand, was more an end in itself. To the French-Canadian patriots who published them, their papers were, above all, protective, defensive measures against the denationalization of their forces, and therefore essentially aimed at the French-Canadian public. The French editors, on the other hand, were more inclined to consider their papers as outlet for intellectual and cultural discussions, and extended their reading public to all those who had any desire or ability to read French. However, and quite naturally, they were not without hope that these papers would help to bind the French-speaking elements together.

Of the sixty papers which have been found so far, published in the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes area the majority of them, 33, were published in Michigan, mostly in lake-shore towns, 15 in Illinois, in or around Chicago, and the rest in Minnesota.¹³

Before discussing some of them more in detail, let us see what can be learned from the figures themselves, and make some general remarks concerning these papers. As might be expected, by reason of the considerable French-Canadian immigration during the seventies and eighties, these publications are chiefly concentrated in these two decades. While 7 only appeared before the Civil War,

¹³ For a list of the French-language newspapers published in Michigan, see Georges J. Joyaux, "French Press in Michigan: A Bibliography," *Michigan History*, XXXVI (September, 1952), 260-278. For a list of the French-language newspapers published in Illinois, see Louis-Philippe Cormier, "La presse française de l'Illinois," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française* (Décembre, 1957), 380-392. In this well documented and excellent article, Professor Cormier focuses his attention on the first phase of the history of the French-language press in Illinois (till the 1890's), pointing out that this first period was "la belle époque" of the French press in this state. Mention should be made of a more recent publication, Eugene P. Willging and Herta Hatzfeld, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States*, Second Series, Part three, Washington, 1961, which has some pages on the Catholic press in Illinois during the XIXth century. In the section devoted to the French-language Catholic press, the authors list only eight different French newspapers although their selection includes, besides those papers which are "Catholic by purpose," others which are "Catholic by attitude," and "Catholic by national traditions." The breadth of these definitions would, it seems, justify the inclusion of almost all French-language newspapers, whether they be French-Canadian or French. Yet, the list of French-language papers given in the *Catholic Serials* falls short of the fifteen to seventeen newspapers listed in Professor Cormier's article and in this study. It should be pointed out, however, that in a few cases we have no "concrete" evidence of the existence of these newspapers.

and 20 after 1890, the bulk of these papers, 33 in all, appeared during the 25 years following the great upheaval.

Looking through the files of these newsheets, the reader is struck by one characteristic they all seem to share: in practically no case were they founded as long-range projects associated with the French-Canadian elements, or intended to serve as outlet for literary, cultural or social thought. Generally, they were founded by deeply patriotic Canadians who witnessed with great concern the slow disintegration of the French-Canadian heritage and saw in the newspaper the best means of checking Americanization—or *assimilation*, as it was then called.

It is interesting to note also that though there were some sixty papers published in all, the number of persons, owners and editors, associated with these papers is much smaller, as quite often the same man, not discouraged by a first failure, started on a new venture in the same or in a different town. Actually, only a few names stand out. Edouard N. Lacroix, for instance, started the first two successful papers in Detroit in the 1840's. The journalistic ventures of the Grandpré brothers, Alexandre and Michel, dominated the last decades of the Nineteenth century, in and around Chicago. Jean-Baptiste Paradis, after editing the paper resulting from the first Canadian Convention in New York (1865), came West and was associated with practically all the French newspapers published in Illinois and in Minnesota. The Desmeules, father and son, whose activities were chiefly centered in the twin cities, and whose last venture, *L'Echo de l'Ouest*, lasted almost half a century (1883-1929). Bachand-Vertefeuille, finally, who, at the end of the Nineteenth century integrated most of the French-language papers published in the area into a single newsheet *Le Courrier Franco-Américain*, which dominated the scene in the first decades of the Twentieth century.

The last and not least important characteristic which strikes the reader is the deep note of Canadianism running through the various issues of these papers: "The credo of the Société l'Assomption, 'Conserver notre langue, nos mœurs, et notre religion,' epitomizes the aims and characters of the French press in North America."¹⁴ Except for a few cases where the editor was of French origin, in most cases the papers are deeply marked with strong religious feelings so characteristic of the Province of Quebec and

¹⁴ Edward B. Ham, "Journalism and French Survival in New England," *New England Quarterly*, XI (March, 1938), 89.

so unlike the broader, more complacent attitude exhibited in French circles.

Naturally, it is not my intention to discuss all of these newspapers. First, such a task would require much more exhaustive evidence than I have at my disposal. In many cases I have been unable to locate the newspapers and when they were located, only a few issues were found to have been preserved. Second, many of these papers went through parallel adventures, and in many cases the material and intent of one of them is reproduced in many others. Therefore, we shall limit ourselves to some of the most important, with the hope that our remarks concerning their scope, distribution, circulation and contents will be significant enough to warrant further studies along these lines.

The first important French-language paper in Illinois was *Le Journal de l'Illinois* (1857-1864) published by Alexandre Grandpré and Claude Petit, in Kankakee. Grandpré, born in the Province of Quebec, immigrated to Illinois in 1856, thereafter devoting his life to journalism. However, if Grandpré was the owner, Claude Petit, a Frenchman, was the editor, and *Le Journal* reflects far more his personality than that of Grandpré. As a result, the paper strikes a note quite different from the other French-Canadian papers, which explains Belisle's comment that the patriotic tone of *Le Journal* was not accentuated enough. Though the paper displayed for motto "indépendant en tout, neutre en rien," it was deeply republican and the editor did not conceal his pleasure at the results of the municipal elections in Chicago in 1858, for "la démocratie irlando-jésuitico-nègre-esclave n'avait jamais été aussi complètement battue."¹⁵ Naturally, the paper also stood firmly against the absolutism of Napoleon III in France, and Orsini (who had just attempted to murder the French Emperor) found in the journal a staunch defender, since, as Petit pointed out, "crime calls for crime." The paper widely publicized his trial, and no doubt was left as to the editor's judgement:

Quel est l'homme qu'on a voulu assassiner le 14 Janvier? Cet homme est lui-même l'assassin de plusieurs milliers d'hommes...; l'action des assassins est criminelle, mais il faut les plaindre et non les maudire. Celui qu'il faut maudire, c'est le tyran qu'ils ont voulu assassiner.¹⁶

Anti-clericalism, the unavoidable collateral of republicanism, was not absent from the pages of *Le Journal*. Hardly an issue was

¹⁵ *Le Journal de l'Illinois*, Kankakee, March 5, 1858.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, February 12, 1858.

published without an attack against the Jesuits: "Ils ont le diable au corps; il n'y a pas d'inventions qu'ils ne trouvent pour gagner de l'argent."¹⁷ And the two topics, Orsini "noble vengeur de Rome égorgée," and the Jesuits, were tied up in this bitter and ferocious remarks: "Certains journaux disent qu'Orsini est jésuite; nous ne le croyons pas. Les hommes aussi braves qu'Orsini ne sont pas jésuites."¹⁸ Another interesting item is a short discussion of the Chicago papers. We are told that out of the 9 dailies (three in German) and 10 weeklies published in the city, *Le Journal* (a weekly) has the widest circulation. Though started in Kankakee, the paper later was moved to Chicago, with agents in Kankakee and Peoria. Belles lettres were given an unusual space in the pages of *Le Journal*. Besides a regular serial from the pen of such writers as Ponson du Terrail, Albert Maurin and Pierre l'Ermite, occasionally the paper published poems by Gautier and de Banville and literary articles reproduced from Paris newspapers.

After another journalistic venture in Watertown (*Le Phare des Lacs*, 1868), Grandpré returned to Illinois, and with his brother Michel launched *Le Courrier de l'Illinois* in 1868. This paper, which under different names lasted till the beginning of the Twentieth century, clearly dominates the journalistic scene of the last decades of the Nineteenth century in Illinois, particularly after 1880, when moved back to Chicago it became associated with the large French-speaking group of the great metropolis. Also this second venture was more like the other publications of the French-Canadian element in the Middle West. Its motto, "notre nationalité avant tout," well characterized the new slant given the paper by its editor Jean-Baptiste Paradis. Paradis, who had gained experience as the editor of *Le Public Canadien* (New York, 1867), was quite aware of the slow denationalization of the Canadian group, and unlike his predecessor Petit, gave free rein to his deep patriotism. He urged his readers to become American citizens as the first necessary step if they were to take part in the life of the country, and as a means of maintaining their own culture. Comparing the French Canadians to the German, he wrote:

Amis lecteurs, pourquoi nos populations sont à la remorque des autres nationalités mêmes moins nombreuses que les nôtres, j'entends pour le patronage de l'administration. Vous n'êtes représentés nulle part. Pourquoi?

La première chose que fait un Allemand en arrivant, c'est de prendre son premier certificat de naturalisation.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, January 8, 1858.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1858.

Vous retardez le plus possible pour le faire.

Un Allemand va-t-il à la poste..., il veut y retrouver un des siens, et pour cela, malgré qu'il sache l'anglais, il s'y adresse toujours en allemand. Conséquence: Les chefs de bureau sont forcés d'avoir des officiers allemands.

... et vous, vous vous dépêchez de toujours faire comprendre que vous n'avez pas besoin d'interprète.

Dans les temps d'élection, l'Allemand forme des clubs, joint ceux de son quartier et nomme les délégués aux Conventions qui nomment les candidats qui sont élus.

Que faites-vous? Rien! Ces Clubs, ces Conventions, ces élections ne vous occupent pas. Vous n'avez donc pas le droit de vous plaindre.

Ce qui est vrai pour l'Allemand est vrai pour tous...¹⁹

This kind of statement deserves special notice as it occurs time and time again in the pages of the newspapers we examined, and, according to other students of the subject, in the pages of all the French-Canadian papers published in the United States. Still, the paper is republican, stressing more particularly the Republican stand against slavery. It should be said, in fact, that in most cases the papers published in Chicago were strongly tinted with republicanism and did not hesitate at election times to campaign actively for the candidates of the Republican Party.

Two more Chicago papers deserve special mention: *L'Amérique* (1869-1870) and *Le Figaro Illustré* (1886). With the first, published by Th. Guérault and Samuel E. Pinta, is associated with name of Louis Fréchette, the well-known Canadian poet. Only one issue of this paper has been found; it contains an editorial favoring the XVth Amendment, a feuilleton by Elie Berthet—a French novelist unknown today but somewhat very popular in his time—and local news. According to Belisle, the paper came to an end when anti-French articles were published at the time of the Franco-Prussian war.

Samuel Pinta was no apprentice either. Coming to Chicago from New Orleans in 1858, he worked for several newspapers before launching his own French language paper, *L'Observateur* (Chicago, 1861) on its very short career. As we have been unable, thus far, to find a copy of this paper, we have to rely on Belisle who refers to it as "un journal bien rédigé et d'un haut caractère littéraire."²⁰

The second paper, *Le Figaro Illustré*, was a French paper resulting, no doubt from the enthusiasm aroused by the gift of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1858.

²⁰ Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse*, 57.

Bartholdi's Statue to America in 1886. It was a well printed and attractive publication edited by a L. R. de Sainte Foy, from Paris. The contents, varied enough and quite literary were apt to please a large range of readers and to hold their interest. Instead of the blunt statement usually prefacing other similar enterprises, the program of *Le Figaro* was explained in these words:

It will not be a political paper properly speaking . . . , but will limit itself to relate the most important facts of European and American politics. . . .

It will have no other aim than propagating the French language, to make it liked by all those who speak it, to remind it to those of our countrymen or of their descendents who are inclined to forget it, finally, to be a bridge between the French-speaking and English-speaking population, and to increase the bonds of friendship which already exist.

Each issue will include: a poem; a review of current events; a Parisian chronique, especially written by a distinguished writer (Louis Mainard); a theatrical chronique; varieties, reproduced from leading Parisian newspapers; and a serial, from the pen of a Parisian novelist in fashion. Finally, to please the ladies, the paper will publish a monthly review of the latest fashions.²¹

In the few issues we have been able to locate we found poems by Victor Hugo and François Coppée, a serial by the novelist 'à la mode' Georges Pradel, and, most surprising, two full pages of illustrations in each issue. No doubt, the ambitious program along with the weekly illustrations may explain the paper's failure to last more than a month.

Just as the last quarter of the Nineteenth century had witnessed the domination of Alexandre Grandpré in the field of French journalism in Illinois, the following years were dominated by Louis Bachand-Vertefeuille, whose journalistic ventures spread over twenty years and over Illinois, Minnesota and Michigan. In view of the importance of Bachand-Vertefeuille in the history of the French-American press in this section of the country, we should devote a few pages to his journalistic career and, for a while, forget both boundaries and dates.

After a few years in New England where he had migrated from Canada, Bachand-Vertefeuille came to Chicago in 1893. Two years later he launched, on a very short career, *Le Bulletin Officiel*, about which nothing can be said as we have not been able to locate a single copy of it. Soon after, Bachand-Vertefeuille joined the

²¹ *Le Figaro Illustré*, Chicago, October 30, 1886.

staff of *Le Courrier de l'Ouest*, Grandpré's former paper, now in the hands of a private company and edited by a Philippe Masson. His next move took him to St. Paul where he became the associate of T.F.X. Beaudet, editor of *Le Canadien*.²² The eventual acquisition of this paper by Bachand-Vertefeuille was the first step toward the realization of his life-long project, the absorption of all the French papers published in the West, and their integration into a single newsheet, published under his direction, to carry out his program:

Maintenir et faire prévaloir aux États-Unis, et plus particulièrement dans les États du centre et de l'ouest, par l'union de toutes les bonnes volontés, sans exception, le culte de l'idéal français et catholique avec tous les glorieux souvenirs et les espérances légitimes qui s'y rattachent. . . .²³

The next step was the acquisition of *Le Courrier de l'Ouest*, in 1903, and the fusion of these two papers into *Le Courrier-Canadien* in 1904. In 1905, this paper became *Le Courrier Franco-Américain*. Bachand-Vertefeuille also attempted to publish a daily, *Le Petit Journal de Chicago*, which he hoped, would revolutionize "notre système de communications entre nos groupes de langue française dans l'Ouest," and be "le pas de géant dans la voie d'organisation des forces vives de la nationalité canadienne française, et le plus utile engin de guerre contre les assimilateurs." This daily, however, which he felt was a necessity, was very short-lived as it did not find among the French speaking population the support it needed for so expensive an undertaking.²⁴

For the next twenty years, at the helm of *Le Courrier*, Bachand-Vertefeuille fought a losing battle: The preservation of a homogenous, distinct, catholic, French-Canadian culture alongside the ceaselessly growing protestant, anglo-saxon society, and amidst the

²² This was not Beaudet's first journalistic venture. After leaving Canada, he first came to Michigan, settling for a while in Houghton County, in the Upper Peninsula. This area was heavily populated by French Canadians attracted by the fast-developing mine and lumber industries. In 1879 he settled definitively in Minneapolis where he was soon associated with several French papers in this town: *Le Canadien*, *Le Progrès*, *l'Echo de l'Ouest*. In 1892 he began the publication of *L'Oeil*, Minneapolis, 1892-1895. Later the same year he acquired *La Voix du Lac*, Duluth, and integrated it to *L'Oeil*. In 1896, he took over *Le Canadien* (begun in 1877 by Paradis) but was soon forced to sell it to Bachand-Vertefeuille, and retire from journalism.

²³ *Le Petit Journal de Chicago*, June 22, 1903.

²⁴ *Le Canadien*, St. Paul, May 22, 1903. In fact, Bachand-Vertefeuille was quite enthusiastic about this new project, and he offered to duplicate his daily paper in St. Paul and in Minneapolis "si le public des villes-soeurs le désire."

general apathy of his own countrymen. From the various issues of Bachand-Vertefeuille's papers which we have been able to consult, it is possible to get an idea of some of his objectives and of the way through which he tried to carry them out. There can be very little doubt that his motives were good and that he was genuinely disturbed by the disappearance of the Canadian element as such; but it is equally clear that Bachand-Vertefeuille was not exactly qualified for the task at hand. Too engrossed with his one idea, the preservation of the French language, and all it stood for, he failed in the essential task of the journalist, namely to give his readers good and interesting reading material. To no small extent, finally, he lacked the necessary requirements for a public leader, understanding and tact.

The pages of his papers are filled with attacks, quite bitter at times, against the French-Canadians, for their refusal to join national societies, though "ils se hâtent de faire partie de sociétés américaines sous prétexte qu'elles sont bien meilleures."²⁵ Summing up French-Canadian strength in the great metropolis, he declared:

Ce que nous déplorons, c'est qu'à Chicago, au beau milieu d'une population canadienne de 40,000 âmes, nous n'avons rien à montrer qu'un journal qui a toujours végété, un club demi-anglais, deux ou trois petites sociétés d'une vingtaine de membres, quelques projects dans l'air, et des églises où l'anglais est la note dominante. Ceci constitue tout notre bagage, et toutes nos richesses nationales. C'est peu... bien peu!²⁶

These figures, it is true, were challenged by a correspondent from Kankakee. Pointing out that the four Chicago parishes listed no more than 10,000 souls, he asked the editor:

Doit-on supposer que 25 à 30,000 Canadiens sont à Chicago n'appartenant à aucune Église? et ne faisant aucune religion? Ce n'est pas croyable! Ne serait-il pas plus près de la vérité de dire qu'il y a chez vous de 10 à 15,000 Canadien Français? Je crois que ce serait plus honorable de dire la franche vérité et de ne pas laisser croire qu'il peut se trouver à Chicago une majorité, et une forte majorité de compatriotes qui aurait abandonné leur religion.²⁷

There were no words harsh enough for the French-Canadian immigrants who, over-zealous in their attempts at assimilation, anglicized their names:

Les trâitres! Voici des hommes auxquels Dieu a fait la grâce de les faire descendre d'une nation qui marche à la tête du monde civilisé depuis

²⁵ *Ibid.*, January 9, 1903.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1903.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1903.

le début de l'ère chrétienne, d'une nation qui a combattu durant tous ces siècles pour répandre dans le monde la lumière, la liberté, la justice; une nation qui est classée, même par ses ennemis, parmi les plus chevaleresques et les plus nobles, et loin de remercier Dieu, ils semblent le blâmer en rougissant de leur origine. . . .

Par une faveur plus particulière encore, ils sont nés dans le sein du peuple canadien français . . . ; ils pourraient s'enorgueillir d'être né de ce peuple . . . , mais ils veulent plutôt appartenir à cette race de charlatans, de négociants et de spéculateurs qui produit des Tweeds, des Vanderbilts et des Barnums. . . .²⁸

In a later issue, carrying the picture to the extreme, the *Courrier* made this picture of John Miller, *l'assimilé*:

Le connaissez-vous? Non, tant mieux; ce n'est pas un ami à aimer, ni un camarade à fréquenter. Son histoire pourtant doit être racontée, elle illustre si bien la nature du rénégal qu'est l'assimilé . . .

Son père arrive aux États-Unis vers l'âge de vingt ans . . . Il gagne de gros salaires comme menuisier et se marie avec une Canadienne qui n'a qu'un défaut, elle parle anglais du matin au soir. Alors John commence à s'assimiler.

Il envoie son fils à l'école publique où l'on apprend l'anglais et surtout l'arithmétique, cette science qui enfante le génie. Grande honte de ce garçon qui le premier jour voit qu'il n'a pas un nom américain. Comment réparer cette injustice de la nature. Il suffit de traduire. Fallait-il entendre alors les termes de mépris dont il se servait pour désigner les Canadiens. Ame basse et ignoble, il reniait sa nationalité.

Fort de son ignorance, ayant appris l'histoire du monde dans un de ces manuels qui ne disent rien, il crut facilement qu'il n'y a jamais eu, qu'il n'y a pas et qu'il n'y aura jamais de nation aussi glorieuse que la nation américaine. Il eut la sottise, plus tard, de croire avec beaucoup d'Américains, que Dewey remporta dans la baie de Manille la plus grande victoire navale dont l'histoire fasse mention, que la guerre de Cuba fut remplie de prodiges inouis de valeur et de science militaire.

Enfin le fils renie le père qui parle un anglais pénible, et se marie avec une Américaine sous l'oeil bienveillant d'un ministre protestant quelconque. Le reniement de la nationalité entraînait le reniement de la foi.

Un jour il voit un moyen de doubler sa fortune. Il fait assurer ses marchandises arriérées pour le double de la valeur et y met le feu. Le reniement de la foi devait entraîner le reniement de l'honnêteté. Apostat, voleur, incendiaire, John Miller va-t-il toujours être heureux?

Non, il est pincé et mis en prison!

J'aurais pu enjoliver cette histoire, j'ai voulu la raconter tout uniment, sans littérature, pour que tous suivent bien l'enchaînement des reniements, pour que tous voient ou conduit naturellement l'assimilation.²⁹

²⁸ *Le Petit Journal de Chicago*, June 23, 1903.

²⁹ *Le Courrier-Canadien*, St. Paul, March 18, 1903.

These and many other similar items account for the charges of meanness hurled at Bachand-Vertefeuille from various corners of the French-speaking element in the Midwest. It is only fair to add, however, that he always took time and space to answer these charges personally. Not only was he unaware of the hopelessness of the fight he was waging, but again he did not realize the lack of tact he displayed in his handling of the problem. He even angered Paradis, whose name is synonymous with French Canadian press in this country: "Quand vous aurez fait autant de sacrifices que moi pour la cause du journalisme canadien français dans ce pays," Paradis wrote to Bachand-Vertefeuille, "vous aurez meilleure grâce à me traiter d'apathie à cet égard."³⁰

Relentlessly, Bachand-Vertefeuille castigated his readers, attacking indifferently national societies because they were too numerous; their officials for their lack of efforts and their selfishness; "les mauvais Français de France," because their behavior discredited the larger French-Canadian community; fathers and mothers alike for their failure to teach French to their children, and the latter for their departure from the closely-knit family; priests, for not using French in church; and teachers, for neglecting Canadian history and failing to awaken their charges to the greatness of Canada's glorious past. In fact, very little was left untouched and unharmed. Other French-language newspapers were not forgotten either. Thus, *La Voix du Peuple* (Minneapolis, 1900-1903) was attacked because the editors excused and justified the French parish priests' use of English in church as the only means of communication:

Mr. Fortin, le rédacteur est anglais jusqu'au fond de l'âme, et—tout le monde le sait—canadien de nom seulement... Les Canadiens de Minneapolis continueront, omme par le passé, à entretenir dans leur milieu un agent de destruction au point de vue national et français. Fortin est anglais, Sulte est anglais, Desneules est imprimeur, rien de plus...³¹

So was *Le Patriote* (Bay City, 1880-1904) the butt of Bachand-Vertefeuille's attacks. Commenting on the attempt to revive the paper in 1903 under the editorship of a Adelard Masson, Bachand-Vertefeuille warned that the paper was only a political sheet directed by a new Hearst, M. Washington, owner of the *Bay City Democrat Herald*. After reading the first issue of the new series, he declared:

Nous voyons que nous n'avions pas fait fausse route; pas de programme, mais un but: sacrifier les intérêts des Canadiens de la vallée de Saguenay

³⁰ *Ibid.*, June 17, 1904.

³¹ *Le Canadien*, April 21, 1903.

pour l'avancement des intérêts politiques de Washington ou quelques-uns de ses protégés.³²

At the same time, he mocked Masson's poor French, though it should be said that Bachand-Vertefeuille's own papers were not exempt from mistakes.

On the French scene, and in keeping with the traditional Canadian suspicion of French complacent attitude toward religion, *Le Courrier*, alarmed by Emile Combes' efforts to de-christianize the country, warned France that "la politique de l'anti-cléricalisme... est une politique de suicide national."³³

As Bachand-Vertefeuille became more and more disturbed by the apathy of his countrymen, his paper became more and more a collection of news items from local societies, clubs and organizations, giving, if anything, a false impression of the activities of the French-speaking element throughout the three states. The rest of the paper usually included a large amount of advertisement, no less than half of the paper, some poetry, with special emphasis on the Canadian poets, Chapman, Fréchette, Crémazie, a regular serial and among others, we found Longfellow's "Evangeline." In the later years of his life, probably tired of the hopeless struggle, Bachand-Vertefeuille seems to have withdrawn from the actual management of *Le Courrier*. The proselytizing campaign somewhat slackened, and the space given to local news was considerably reduced.

Many of Bachand-Vertefeuille's associates, both editors and regular contributors deserve more attention. Thus Georges Veke-man, under the name of Jean des Erables, contributed many an interesting article to *Le Courrier-Canadien*; among other items, his controversy over Fourierism and Socialism originated some well-written and well-documented articles. Another frequent contributor was A.E.R. a die-hard French-Canadian mainly concerned with the preservation of the French-language and of the French-Canadian cultural background. He wrote:

Elever les enfants canadiens de manière à ce qu'ils ne parlent qu'anglais..., n'est-ce pas mettre le fruit sain du catholicisme canadien français en contact avec le fruit contaminé du rationalisme orgueilleux, du naturalisme goguenard qu'est le vrai Américain? N'est-ce pas travailler ainsi à détruire la foi même des enfants franco-américains, en même temps que leur langue?³⁴

³² *Le Courrier-Canadien*, February 5, 1904.

³³ *Le Canadien*, April 17, 1903.

³⁴ *Le Courrier-Canadien*, September 4, 1903.

And later, as a means to check the disappearance of French, he suggested: "S'il y a des ligues contre l'intempérance dans le boire, ne peut-il y en avoir contre l'intempérance à parler anglais?"³⁵

Many more deserve to be mentioned, but most of all, Bachand-Vertefeuille deserves special tribute. A more detailed and complete study of his publications and of his many other undertakings, (such as the Institut Franco-Américain founded in 1905), would help to explain him better and throw some light on his life-long fight. Though for a while his papers had editions in Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul and Bay City, and though its circulation reached 2,000, it was never what Bachand-Vertefeuille meant it to be:

... l'organe des diverses colonies de langue française dans l'Illinois, l'Indiana, l'Iowa, le Minnesota, le Wisconsin, le Michigan, l'Ohio, la Pennsylvanie, le Kentucky, le Missouri, l'Arkansas, le Kansas, le Colorado, Les Dakotas, le Montana, l'Oregon, le Washington et la Californie...³⁶

As I mentioned earlier, this paper is not and could not be exhaustive. The history of the French language press in the Midwest has been neglected too long to be summed up now in a few pages. More should be said about the other papers published in Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth (The Desmeules' domain) and about the thirty-three papers published in Michigan. I hope enough has been said, however, to show the scope of the problem and to attract other students of Franco-American relationships. If the thought that "21 French newspapers and four monthly publications are now (1938) published in New England, comes as a surprise to most New Englanders outside of Franco-American communities,"³⁷ the midwesterner would be equally surprised to find out that sixty French-language newspapers have been published in the Upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes area during the Nineteenth century, some lasting as long as thirty years, and as late as the 1920's. Belisle's pioneer work, mainly concerned as it was with the French-Canadian press and the New England states, should be completed, particularly now as the task would be made easier with the use of the microfilm.

As a conclusion, it might be interesting to hint at some of the reasons explaining the failure of the French and French-Canadians to maintain a tradition of separate culture in this area, while the

³⁵ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1903.

³⁶ *Le Courrier Franco-Américain*, Chicago, January 6, 1905.

³⁷ Ham, "Journalism and French Survival in New England," *loc. cit.*, 93.

Germans and Scandinavians seem to have been more successful in preserving theirs. Commenting on this situation, Judge Frank A. Picard, of the United States District Court in Detroit, and a regular contributor to *Le Courrier du Michigan* declared:

We have not of course been as tenacious as the Germans in holding to our language, or in teaching it in the schools, but when we look at it from the angle of patriotism and duty, I think you can draw the conclusion that the French people who have come here have realized the significance of the oath of allegiance they took. . . .³⁸

It is doubtful whether such an explanation accounts for the failure of the French element to preserve its tradition and language. Other reasons must be taken into consideration. Edward B. Ham, in his study of the French survival in New England declared:

The obstacles to the survival are fairly well-known: precedent elsewhere is lacking; reinforcing immigration from Canada has declined; the French communities are widely separated, and their leaders fail to stress the utility of knowing two languages; with their growing prosperity the French are becoming more and more apathetic to the appeal of racial pride; discussions within the French groups are many and marriages outside their own race are increasingly frequent; about all, the English language is making constant inroads on French speech habits.³⁹

Not only had the direct migration from French Canada declined, but again the direct immigration from France was never significant, particularly when compared to the direct migrations from Germany and Scandinavia. The task of preserving and propagating French culture was left to the French Canadians alone, and despite their strong resistance to complete Americanization, they were eventually absorbed. As a French Canadian from North Dakota answered to Bachand-Vertefeuille's attacks on those who neglected the native tongue:

Comment conserver la langue quand on est 12 ou 15 Canadiens noyés dans 2,500 ou 3,000 âmes? Malgré tous les efforts pour le parler en famille, je crains beaucoup qu'avec les années notre langue, dans un centre tel que le nôtre, soit englobée. . . .⁴⁰

Equally important it seems to me is the attitude of the French immigrant. He usually came to America as an individual, a single

³⁸ October 21, 1948.

³⁹ Ham, "Journalism and French Survival in New England," *loc. cit.*, 93.

⁴⁰ *Le Courrier Franco-Américain*, August 25, 1905.

person, or at most a family, in contrast to the mass migration of the Germans or the Scandinavians for example. Once in the newly-adopted country, the Germans tended to join in organized German settlements, or if there were none, created some of their own, each complete with a school house, a newspaper, a church and trunverein. The French immigrant, on the other hand, tended to accept his new way of life and his new neighbors, and melt into it. Ralph Leslie Rusk, explaining the failure of the early French settlers "to exert a perceptible influence on the growth of the European culture in the West," declared: "The Frenchman, always more quick to adopt himself to his environment, succumbed to the charm of savage life,"⁴¹ and was soon absorbed by it.

A third reason might be the general lack of organization characteristic of the French people as a whole, and apparently characteristic to a certain extent of the French-Canadians as well. Without the Teutonic sense of organization, the transplanted French or French-Canadian moving in different circles and in different milieux usually managed to disappear into the mass. The failure of the papers to create a bond among the many French elements scattered throughout the area gave the death blow to the hope, held by a few, that they might preserve and develop a unified and progressive Franco-American heritage.

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⁴¹ Ralph Leslie Rusk, *Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, New York, 1926, 6-7.

Book Reviews

The Liberty Line, The Legend of the Underground Railroad. By Larry Gara. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1961. Pp. ix, 194. \$5.

Professor Gara of Grove City College, Pennsylvania, writes on the second page of his work: "The legend of the underground railroad tells of the intrepid abolitionists sending multitudes of passengers over a well-organized transportation system to the Promised Land of freedom. The fugitives often were hotly pursued by cruel slave hunters, and nearly always they eluded capture because of the ingenuity and daring of the conductors. All was carried on with the utmost secrecy." The remainder of the book is almost wholly devoted to a refutation of these statements.

The legend of the underground railroad, as accepted by most Americans today, is based upon fiction and romance more than upon fact, according to Gara. It had its origins in the pre-Civil War period and was nurtured by both abolitionists and slave holders; by the abolitionists as a propaganda device directed against the South, and by slave holders as a convenient explanation for the flight of slaves. The legend, however, enjoyed its greatest growth in the decades following the War Between the States. The war brought about the freeing of the slaves. Former abolitionists, once having suffered the general disapproval of their neighbors, subsequently rushed forward to claim credit for a development which thereafter enjoyed popular sanction. In their memoirs, aging abolitionists with dimming memories and even their descendants gradually transformed isolated incidents of a small group in a given locality into an organized institution common to a whole geographic area. The evolved legend was finally best set forth in the historic works of the young Wilbur H. Siebert of Ohio State University, who first became interested in the subject in 1893. Most subsequent writings on the subject, newspaper items, magazine articles, novels, encyclopedia accounts, and historic references have been based on his "research." It is interesting to note that Professor Gara cites Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager, and Thomas A. Bailey as three contemporary historians who have unwittingly followed the Siebert line. This legend the author attempts to disprove.

Basing his account on scientifically provable facts alone, Doctor Gara relates quite a different story of the underground railway. According to him, only a few abolitionists assisted fugitive slaves, and these were not in agreement as to method or objectives. As a matter of fact, the fugitives relied chiefly upon their own recourses or were assisted more often by free Negroes or individual humanitarians, both northern and southern, than they were by the supposedly sectionally organized abolitionists, mostly Quakers.

The author, depending primarily on census figures, disagrees with the commonly held belief that multitudes of fugitives crossed over the line dividing the slave from the free labor states. According to him, more slaves bought their own freedom or were manumitted by their owners than fled to the North. Of those who successfully left the plantations, more remained in hiding in the South than attempted to find their way to

other sections. Gara does not accept the claims that the underground railroad was a well-organized transportation system covering the entire North and even reaching into the deep South and into Canada. He asserts that it flourished in specific localities, due primarily to the activities of certain forceful individuals, for example, Levi Coffin of Indiana and Thomas Garrett of Delaware. Many a fugitive slave made his way into the North, or across the North into Canada, without receiving any assistance from railway agents or the so-called conductors.

There were occasional instances of slave hunters, some cruel, pursuing and successfully recapturing the runaways. These occurrences were frequently quite dramatic, and were colorfully reported in the northern press, both public and abolitionist. The abolitionist version has come to be generally accepted as typical and as occurring with frequency throughout all the free labor states. The author concludes that the average southern slave holder found it too costly to pursue fugitives, and that there were few actual pursuits and fewer recaptures.

The element of secrecy, which is so basically a part of the legend, is quite impressively attacked by the author. He shows that in those localities in which there was actually organized assistance given fugitive slaves, such activity was more frequently open than secret. He discounts the general impression that there were numerous clandestine way-stations, hiding places, and a system of secret signs and signals throughout the North.

It is doubtful whether Professor Gara's work, which will be of interest to historians alone, will accomplish much towards undoing a well-established legend. Like so many legends of American history, it has become a part of our folklore. In their traditional way, the people will continue to believe what they wished had happened, rather than what actually happened. It is this actuality which frequently makes the dedicated historian's work discouraging.

As an example of scientific research, *The Liberty Line* is superb. It is voluminously footnoted from such a wealth of sources that the serious reader is extremely pleased. However, one receives the impression that the writer has rushed into print and has not completely assimilated and digested his material. He has gathered a multitude of apparently substantiated facts, but they are not woven together into an easily understood whole. His continuous use of quotations, both short and long, makes reading difficult. The introductory chapter is excellent. After such an appetizer, the reader prepares himself for a full meal of equally delightful courses. However, the chapters which follow contain material which is not always clear, is repetitious, and cannot readily be related to the main theme of the book. There is, in effect, no concluding chapter or section, and the reader is left hanging in air.

This is an important subject, and the author is blazing a new trail. It is hoped that the work is a beginning and not an end. With continued research, reflection, and clearer writing it is believed that he has an excellent opportunity of helping replace a willfully created legend with true and proved historic facts.

KENNETH M. JACKSON

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Making an Inter-American Mind. By Harry Bernstein. University of Florida Press, Gainesville, 1961. Pp. vi, 190. \$5.50.

Dr. Bernstein, who has long been writing on this subject of cultural relations between North and South Americans, considers that the scholarly and scientific minds of the hemisphere transcended such ephemeral things as wars, national and language barriers, racism, and international pressure and were interested only in the absorbing study of the phenomena of the Americas, whether the phenomena be those of anthropology, ethnology, geography, geology, biology, history, sociology, or religion. In each of these areas he points to men who fostered inter-American harmony prior to 1900. He concludes that there was developed an admirable tradition of cultural and scientific communion by individuals quite apart from governments, learned societies and other organized promoters. Thus, before the inter-American movements, an inter-American mind, "a way of mental life," was made. While the idea of the existence of such a mind seems far-fetched, it affords a convenient frame for all the findings of Dr. Bernstein on the men who shared curiosity about and mutually rejoiced in research findings about this hemisphere.

The volume is divided into five chapters. In Chapter I, "The First Steps" in making the inter-American mind were to get rid of the "Black Legend" of Spanish cruelties and anti-Spanish myths and to establish an appreciation of Spain and her culture. Next step was to appreciate Latin America, to which antipathy to Spain had been transferred. The first moves in rediscovering Spanish culture were made in New York, New England and Pennsylvania, and the movement grew apace from 1700. Cotton Mather wanted to spread Puritanism to the Catholic colonies of the south and Puritan Samuel Sewall yearned to establish a New Jerusalem in Mexico, obviously attempts at Puritanizing the mind of the hemisphere. Then libraries began to gather books on Spain and Spanish America, and personal ties between men and societies of Spain, North America and Latin America were made. All these are described. The second chapter is about the book trade, the publishers and publications in Spanish for South Americans, and in English for North Americans, all in detailed treatment. The following chapter on "American Earth Sciences" tells of the development of scientific thought, scientist by scientist and book by book. The fourth chapter takes up men, institutions and societies engaged in "The Study of Man" in America, and the last chapter is on the historians whose efforts aroused interest in Latin America and revealed fields of research to North Americans. Throughout the book the author points to the values of the cultural exchanges between individuals and learned societies and presents several imposing lists of the same.

The book is in attractive format and has a rather brief index. It will be handy for students of inter-American relations and will be helpful to researchers. There are a few flaws which may be noted by anybody, and there is one strange omission, that of a word on Dom Pedro II, "The Emperor Scientist" of Brasil.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. Por Francisco Javier Alegre, S.J., Nueva edición por Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., y Félix Zubillaga, S.J., Tomo I, 1956, Tomo II, 1958, Tomo III, 1959, Tomo IV, 1960. Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, Via dei Penitenzieri, 20, Roma. \$24.

The appearance of the last volume of this new edition of Alegre's work marks the completion of an enormous task undertaken by the Jesuit historians, Fathers Burrus and Zubillaga. With this definitive edition a long felt need is satisfied. Alegre was probably the most accurate and objective historian of New Spain and has been cited as an authority for over a hundred years. Though primarily a chronicler of the deeds of the Jesuits he brought in secular and ecclesiastical persons and events, using primary sources and often eyewitness accounts of the land and the people. The general introduction in the first volume describes Alegre, his high rank as an historian, his manuscript *Historia*, and the earlier published edition. Alegre was American born, in Vera Cruz, Mexico, in 1729. He was among the hundreds of Jesuits imprisoned and exiled from Mexico in 1767. In Bologna, his place of exile, he completed his *Historia* by 1771, and during this time and after the papal suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 he enjoyed great prestige there in educational and literary work until his death in 1788.

The only known manuscript of the *Historia* is in the Icazbalceta Collection in the library of the University of Texas, Austin. This was used by Bustamente for the edition published in Mexico from 1842 to 1844, and is now used for the new edition. Happily all the deficiencies and errors of the Bustamente edition are removed and the poor printing is supplanted by an excellent format. Not only is the text of the manuscript presented accurately but it is elaborated in footnotes which amplify the text and direct the reader to documents and to pertinent scholarly articles and books that have appeared since the earlier edition. Moreover, numerous documents pertaining to the *Historia* are published in the appendices, which add great value to the volumes, while throughout the more than 2,700 pages are scattered suitable maps, charts, lists, illustrations and facsimiles, all of great help. By painstaking research and checking in the archives the editors have made their edition truly a treasury for historians. Most noteworthy fringe benefits are the analytical indexes to each volume and the bibliographies. All in all the edition is an exceptional and highly praiseworthy achievement and will be a solid addition to any library shelf.

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Notes and Comments

The History of Modern Culture, by Maurice Parmelee, Ph.D., published by Philosophical Library, New York, 1960, in no less than 1295 pages, and selling for \$10, is a subversive book, subversive of all American ideals and traditions. Dr. Parmelee, born in Constantinople in 1882, educated finally at Yale and Columbia, held teaching posts in various universities and positions in our government. He retired in 1952, but now brings forth in a volume a summary of his writings, theories, preachments, illogical fixations, and absurdities, all propounded with supreme egotistical assurance. The book seems to reveal the anti-American mind of a man who has thrived unto an old age in this land of the free. Since we have wasted time reading the dull, repetitious pages, we note the book in the hope of sparing somebody the similar ordeal. We recommend it to nobody—except, heartily to the Committee on un-American Activities.

Briefly, Parmelee calls for the elimination of capitalism, of all organized religions and religious beliefs, of nationalism and imperialism, of all racial barriers, and of all subdivisions of the same, as money, ethics, corporations, etc. He advocates collectivism, communism, atheism, a world-wide classless society, "the universal acceptance of man as one animal species," a world federation with a congress of representatives from over the globe, free and unhampered love and sex relations, gymnosophy, and "amatoriums."

Russia and Red China are to Parmelee "great countries" but not communistic enough—they still use money and have leaders (p. 1244). Earlier, (p. 704) for similar criticism he apologizes: "The preceding criticisms of Soviet planning are in no sense intended as disparagement of the genuine and very great achievements of the bolshevists." These are samples of the numerous pages that indicate Parmelee's liking for the communist system and his hatred of the capitalistic system. The United States gets little but criticism. Samples: "The two principal parties—the Republican and the Democrat—form one monolithic capitalist party, quite as dominant as the communist party in the Soviet Union . . . there is a capitalist party dictatorship in the United States . . ." (etc. p. 607). The United States is made out to be a capitalist "slavocracy" wherein a "slave morality is imposed upon the servile class by any and every means at the disposal of the masters. . . . Under capi-

talism the cardinal virtues of the slave morality are to work hard and long, to be punctual, and to be thrifty. It is not surprising that Benjamin Franklin has become a paragon of virtue. Some of his adages were. 'Time is money;' 'Credit is money;' 'Money begets money.' Similar utterances in praise of thrift by other American worthies reflect the pecuniary idiology of capitalism." The "worthies" are quoted in a footnote, thus: "Economy makes happy homes and sound nations. Instill it deep." (George Washington.) "Save and teach all you are interested in to save; thus pave the way for moral and material success." (Thomas Jefferson.) "Save your money and thrive, or pay the price in poverty and disgrace." (Andrew Jackson.) "Teach economy. That is one of the first and highest virtues. It begins with saving money." (Abraham Lincoln.)

Besides these "worthies" there are six other Americans mentioned in the whole book: Calvin Coolidge on the subject of advertising; Grant as a general who became president; Admiral A. T. Mahan as a chauvinist; Woodrow Wilson for his pronouncement on self-determination; Harry S. Truman first as a falsifier (p. 586), and next coupled with Eisenhower as follows: Truman "recognized the misery which is widespread in the world. . . . But he failed to recognize that this misery is due mainly to the predatory economic system which he represented and to the destructive and murderous warfare which he and his complotters incite and instigate. The same is even more true of his successor, General Dwight D. Eisenhower." (p. 936).

For his authorities Parmelee cites a few authors of note, a number of those who agree with him, and a sufficient number of communists with whom he agrees. But his most important authority is himself. In the index there are 156 page references under Parmelee, M.

* * * *

The Struggle for Democracy in Latin America, by Charles O. Porter and Robert J. Alexander, was published in March, 1961, by The Macmillan Co., New York. This general survey by two prominent observers is stimulating, in the sense that one may quarrel with many of the statements of Congressman Porter and Professor Alexander and may take issue with the general conclusion that Latin America is ready for political democracy, namely, free elections and constitutional guarantees of civil rights for all. Although Latin America is prepared for popular rule there are

forces working against democracy in its North American meaning, hence the struggle between democracy and tyranny continues. The co-authors consider the forces that have ripened democratic thought: vast social and economic changes over the past fifty years, the rise of an urban, agricultural and commercial middle class, the development of political parties, progressivism, the growth of trade unions, the intellectuals, and even the aid of the Church in social, educational and economic betterment. However adversaries of democratic progress still exist: rural landlords, urban commercial interests, militarists, ambitious politicians, totalitarian parties, communists, fascists, widespread illiteracy, and ignorance of democracy's benefits. Six chapters are devoted to concrete examples of democratic advances under the general heading, "Some Recent Democratic Victories." The final chapter answers the question: What has the United States done in the struggle for Latin American democracy and what it should do in this time of great hemispheric crisis. The book in 215 pages is without footnotes or bibliography but has a suitable index. The list price is \$4.50.

* * * *

The People of Ecuador, A Demographic Analysis, by J. V. D. Saunders, is Number 14 of the Latin American Monograph Series sponsored by the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida and published this year by the University of Florida Press, Gainesville. This is a very helpful analysis of the available vital statistics concerning the people of Ecuador. It is paper covered and its 61 pages contain numerous maps, charts, tables and graphs. Mr. Saunders uses the first and only census taken in Ecuador during the century and a quarter of its national existence, that of 1950, as a basis for his study of the population status, the residential, age, race, and sex data, the marital and educational status, and the birth and death rates. He handles his statistics cautiously, with commendable distinctions and with an awareness of the absence of complete data and comparative tables.

* * * *

The Virgin's Children, Life in an Aztec Village Today, by William Madsen, was published in 1960 by the University of Texas Press and listed at \$4.50. It is an anthropological study of the 800 people in the village of San Francisco Tecospa not

far south of Mexico City. Dr. Madsen chose the place because the Nahuatl tongue is still used by natives who have escaped the trappings of modern civilization. There in primitive surroundings he made his observations and now reports on the habits of the people, their customs, religious beliefs, witchery, superstitions, diseases, medications, games, processions, fiestas, legends, and everything interesting to anthropologists. He writes sympathetically as a friend of the people and in an entertaining style completing his work in fourteen illuminating chapters. There are over eighty fine photographs and sketches illustrating the 246 pages of the book and the pencil sketches by a ten year old boy give his interpretation of Aztec activities. Since the Indians are baptized though poorly instructed Roman Catholics and now have pagan beliefs and rites, they have developed according to Dr. Madsen (p. 33) a new culture. The conclusion, however, may be disputed along theological lines, and it seems that the Catholic reader is again confronted with the ancient question of missionaries in many lands from St. Paul to date (and the question of many modern tourists): When are native rites contrary to Catholic dogma and when are they harmless tribal customs?

* * * *

Frequently enough authors of historical books regret that they have overlooked research articles in periodicals, though they feel excused because of the large output of local and regional history and the unavailability of a suitable bibliography. To fill the need Oscar Osburn Winther has produced *A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1811-1957*, and Indiana University Press, Bloomington, published it this past September 15. As was intended it will prove a very helpful guide for students, teachers, and researchers interested in the vast West including Alaska, Canada, and Mexico. The previous *Guide* to the literature of the West published in 1942 listed 3,501 items from 1811 to 1937. The present work includes those items and adds 5,723 published from 1938 through 1957. The articles are classified according to States, regions, major topics and sub-topics, and categories, and there are cross-references. A list of authors and the entry number of their articles completes the 626 pages of the volume. Professor Winther and his associates have done themselves proud and deserve the gratitude of many who will use the bibliography. The book in attractive paper cover is listed at a reasonable \$6.

Puerto Rican Politics and The New Deal, by Thomas Mathews, was published toward the end of last year by the University of Florida Press. It has been some years since a book on insular affairs has come to hand as heavily weighted with authority as this one on Puerto Rico. Dr. Mathews has spent many years in Puerto Rico as an instructor and director in social sciences in the University and has long been a student and observer in countries of the Caribbean. Familiar though he is with the political affairs he employs an enormous amount of documentation for his story, manuscripts, printed sources, scholarly studies, newspapers, and magazines. Footnotes in one chapter run to 269 and in another to 229. Yet the story of the great political changes in Puerto Rico beginning with 1932 is engagingly told and well organized. It is certainly difficult to unravel the skein of politics in the New Deal era and more so to ferret out what went on underground and above-ground in the complex Puerto Rican political scene, but in doing so and in correlating the two Dr. Mathews must be credited with a more than ordinary achievement. The history and economy of the island, its sociological and religious aspects are interwoven in the narrative. The book will prove an asset. It is in 245 pages, including the bibliography and index, and is listed at \$8.00.

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